

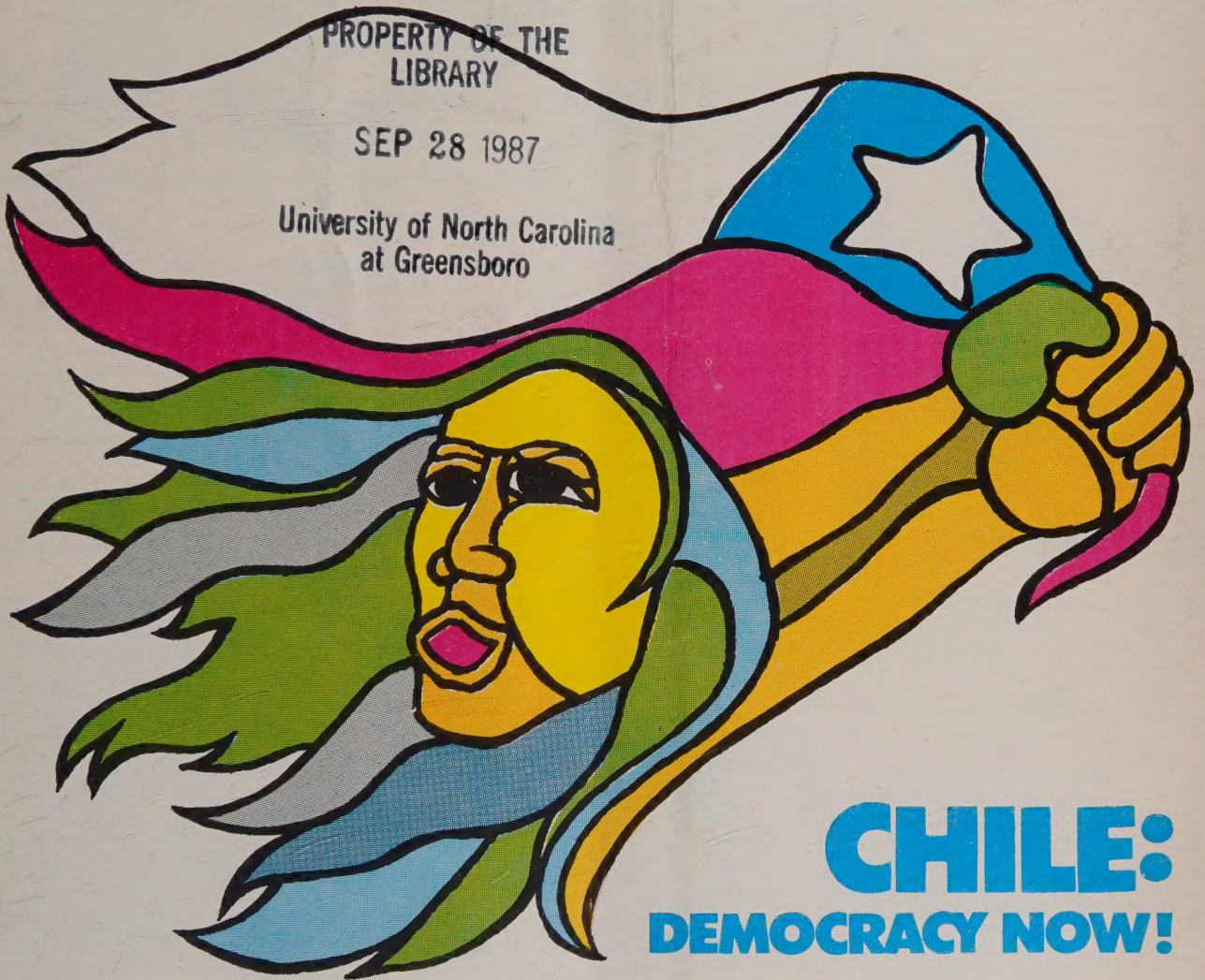
The secret
operations of MI 6

NEW TIMES

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CHILE:
DEMOCRACY NOW!

**SOCIALIST ECONOMIES:
EXPLORING NEW AVENUES**

1917-1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

At a reception in the Kremlin in 1942 for the commanders of partisan units operating behind the enemy lines the phrase, "to date you are our second front," first rang out. And that remained true until the allied armies landed in Normandy in June 1944.

Those who had drawn up the Barbarossa Plan never dreamed that the population of captured Soviet territories would offer any resistance. As



Famous partisan commanders Sidor Kovpak and Alexei Fyodorov.



Unit listens to a military order.

In 1942 Goebbels wrote in his diary: "The danger from the partisans is increasing with every week. They completely control large parts of occupied Russia..." It was probably the only occasion on which Hitler's Reichminister for propaganda was not lying.

The nazis were furious. Punitive units burned down homes, tortured and

hanged people, and shot thousands of civilians: old people, women and children. Entire divisions equipped with tanks, artillery and aircraft were sent against the partisans. But they could do nothing. During the decisive period of the Battle of Kursk the Wehrmacht lost 35-40 per cent of its military supplies as a result of guerrilla operations. Every third trainload carrying

soldiers and weapons was either derailed or halted at ruined stations. In the course of the war the partisans blew up 20,000 trains and put almost 4,000 tanks and armoured cars out of action. They killed more than a million nazis and their collaborators — almost as many as Germany lost in the Battle of Stalingrad, which marked the turning point of World War II.

early as June 28, 1941 — just 6 days after the beginning of the war—partisan units carried out their first attack on the enemy on the Pinsk-Ligoshin highway in Byelorussia.

The number of resistance fighters grew not daily, but by the hour. Communists formed the nucleus. When Soviet troops fell back, they remained on the territory occupied by the fascists for the express purpose of organizing a resistance movement. They formed underground groups in the towns and villages, and armed units in the forests. They were joined by workers, cooperative farmers, soldiers who had been surrounded, and escaped prisoners from concentration camps. No fewer than 2 million people took an active part in the operations against the invaders.

Grandfather and grandson.



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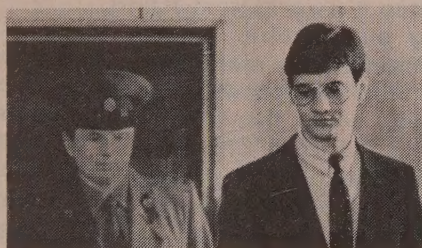
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NEW TIMES

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Peaceful explosions in Northern Kazakhstan. The new stage in the Soviet-American seismic experiment has refuted another argument used by the opponents of the nuclear test moratorium.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

The first decree of Soviet power was the Decree on Peace. The 70 years of your state's existence have shown that in your foreign policy you have steadfastly followed the guidelines advanced by Lenin.

WERNER PFAHL
Bremen, F.R.G.

In Italy, the church exerts tremendous pressure on the electorate. In the U.S., the leader of the Moral Majority, clergyman Jerry Falwell, calls Reagan and Bush "instruments of God sent to reconstruct America." Religion and the church persistently interfere in the politics of Western countries. I think it is worth following the example of the socialist countries, where churches concern themselves exclusively with religious worship and religious figures do not interfere in the affairs of the state.

EMANUELA DEL DUCA
Rome, Italy

I once saw on TV the film "Ordinary Fascism," and a documentary film about the Nuremberg trial. Afterwards I could not sleep. People in America and the West must see these films. The younger generation should know the crimes fascism has committed.

ARIF ABDULLAYEV
Baku, U.S.S.R.

I feel that in dispatching naval vessels to the Persian Gulf, the U.S. administration is not fully aware of the consequences of its actions. Don't politicians in the United States and the West appreciate that in our 20th century it is very dangerous to play with fire?

V. PANOY

Vladimir Region, U.S.S.R.

EDITORIAL

WHAT UNITES THE NATIONS

A bad peace may be better than a good quarrel, but it cannot prevent a quarrel. It looks like a continuation of war - only by other means. Diplomats talk like guns. The positions of states on vital issues are like trenches. Sensible proposals are surrounded by reservations that resemble traps. The other side is only listened to in order to find a breach in its arguments, and reply with as telling a blow as possible. People do not die in these sterilized diplomatic battles, but nothing is done to prevent them dying in real life.

The United Nations is a favourite target for diplomats who might look better in a military uniform. Attempts to harness the United Nations to selfish interests or turn it into a loan treasury have failed. The U.N. has on more than one occasion prevented some giants in the world from acting in anything but a noble fashion.

The situation on the planet today is no doubt different from what it was 42 years ago when the U.N. was founded. But the U.N. Charter has not become an archive document. It is still addressed to the future and its potential has yet to be realized.

A step towards realizing it was the concept of a comprehensive system of international peace and security advanced by the U.S.S.R. and backed by the socialist countries. It was discussed by the 41st session and will again be discussed by the 42nd session of the General Assembly. It is based on a strictly scientific and realistic view of the international scene, an awareness of peace as the supreme value, and the mutual interdependence of nations and the interconnection of all aspects of their life: military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian. This conception proceeds from the assumption that no country today can feel secure if others are insecure: security is either universal or cannot exist at all.

The choice of the U.N. as a forum for discussing the conception is not a ritual expression of respect for that authoritative organization. East River is the best place for taking into account and harmonizing the interests of all states. The U.S.S.R. upholds its position, but it does not try to impose it on others, nor does it turn it into a dogma. Our goal should not be a propaganda Armageddon, but a constructive dialogue on the substance of the new philosophy, on security in the nuclear and space age.

The overriding task is to arrive at a balance of the interests of all members of the international community. Nobody has a monopoly on truth. Any amendments to proposals should be seen not from the viewpoint of blocs, but from that of mankind as a whole.

Openness seems to baffle and create insuperable difficulties for Western diplomats used to years of slanging matches. American diplomats increasingly often turn their backs on concrete proposals, and avoid U.N.-sponsored conferences and forums.

Genuine security today can come not from the quality of weapons, but from the quality of politics. The ideal in today's diplomacy is not the intrigues Metternich-style but a sincere commitment to more democratic international relations. The interests of the present and future generations will best be served if the two rival social systems focus their competition on who makes a weightier and more effective contribution to the cause of bringing together and uniting peoples, to the cause of the United Nations. Everyone should contribute to this cause. Otherwise there will be no one to say of us: "They were very wise people, but they could not foresee the future."

MASS OPPOSITION TO THE DICTATORSHIP



VOLODIA TEITELBOIM, Chilean writer

Former dictator of the Dominican Republic, Rafael Trujillo, made his son an army general as soon as he was old enough to mount a horse. In the same way Pinochet, a formidable tyrant but a tender grandfather, has decorated his 11-year-old grandson with a Luis Cruz Martinez medal "for valour and excellent behaviour." The event took place in the brief interval between the dictator's electoral tours of the south of the country. In order to get himself reelected Pinochet needs to break the resistance of 90 per cent of the population, and three quarters of the military junta, which is to nominate the candidate for the post of president in the plebiscite. Backed by ground forces loyal to him, Pinochet is confronted by the opposition of the Navy, the Air Force and the police, and, personally, that of Admiral Toribio Merino and generals Fernando Matthei and Rodolfo Stange, representing three armed services. They have officially declared that the candidate for the presidency in the 1989 plebiscite must be a civilian.

Air Force Commander Fernando Matthei has drawn an Identikit portrait of a future ruler that might make one think a 19th-century Gretchen was speaking through his mouth. At the end of a junta meeting he explained that he saw the future ruler as a blue-blooded prince of about fifty who could preserve the existing system while giving it a more acceptable face.

The fact that the Air Force general and his two fellow members of the junta do not want to see Pinochet at the helm of state does not stem from any love of freedom. They are concerned about perpetuating the military dictatorship, believing, paradoxically, that the dictator himself is the biggest obstacle to preserving it. Moreover, in the present situation, he is becoming dangerous. Pinochet, who has earned the reputation of a cruel, bloodthirsty monster in his country and the world, is too much of a burden for the existing system in Chile. Moreover, the

members of the junta have lost patience with a megalomaniac who, having concentrated unlimited power in his hands, has pushed them into the background while it is Pinochet himself who rules. Today, the conflict between the dictator and the majority of the junta is an open secret. They still have fresh memories of what happened some years ago to former Air Force Commander Gustavo Leigh who rebelled against the tyrant. He was compelled to resign the army along with thirty other generals without offering any resistance.

Pinochet's five moves

In a bid to secure power for life, Pinochet has developed several tactical moves.

First: to destroy the opposition of the junta majority, which does not want him to remain in power.

Second: to secure his rear by establishing rigid control of the government and turning it into a body for organizing and conducting the forthcoming plebiscite, and no more. That is why he formed a cabinet from among his most devoted supporters coming out for further reprisals.

Third: to step up reprisals against the opposition as a whole - right, left and centre. Pinochet is even attacking the Catholic Church, which he publicly berates, especially in the wake of the Papal visit.

Fourth: to use every opportunity to reassert his profound loyalty to Washington. Pinochet is very worried about developments in South Korea. He is afraid that if there are mass protests in the U.S., an attempt could be made to "persuade" him to step down, as happened to President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea and Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines. He does not want to name an heir, as he

believes that only he should be head of government.

He has been reassured in Washington that he is still the White House's man. He recently had a "soldier-to-soldier" conversation with the newly appointed commander of the southern military district of the U.S., Bernard Loeffke, at the presidential palace of La Moneda. The two men were pleased with each other. Pinochet reiterated Chile's loyalty to the Pentagon. Loeffke for his part pledged military and political backing for the dictator, a pledge that the U.S. banks were prompt to substantiate with a sizeable loan "to pay the interest" on the country's astronomical foreign debt.

Fifth (this move, strictly speaking, has been high on the agenda for the last 14 years): to step up the hysterical campaign against the "communist threat." Such calls have become part of Pinochet's ritual, like the Aztecs who periodically offered human sacrifices to the gods. Nor are things confined to mere exhortation.

In spite of the measures he has taken, the general is having sleepless nights. As never before, he is beset by cares and problems.

One of the most worrying developments of the past few weeks is the rise of a powerful popular movement in the country. It is called the Union of the Left. The date of the founding of the new movement, July 26, coincided with the birthday of Salvador Allende. It includes Communists and Socialists, the Socialist Historical Party of Chile, Radicals, the Christian Left, the United Popular Action Movement, and the Left Revolutionary Movement. In their constituent, declaration they stated that they had joined forces to struggle for an early end to the dictatorship, find a way out of the political, economic and social crisis and restore democracy.

The left, which was in power from

PERSIAN GULF

Naval buildup continues

● THE SITUATION IN THE
PERSIAN GULF HAS REACHED

A POINT OF TENSION
UNPRECEDENTED FOR THE
WHOLE PERIOD OF THE
IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT.

We cannot agree with the assessment of developments in the region put forward on September 4 by the French newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris*, according to which the danger of the Iran-Iraq conflict assuming international dimensions is not so great as it seems at first glance, as no one is trying to make it do so. The reports of military operations coming out of the Persian Gulf

rule out such optimism. Besides the military action, a NATO naval buildup is under way in the region.

Here are some reports from the zone of hostilities. Iran has admitted to having laid mines in the Gulf for defence purposes. On September 5, Iran, for the second time in recent days, bombarded Kuwaiti territory with missiles. On the same day Iraq reported that it had attacked the thirteenth tanker since the resumption of the "tanker war" late in August. A military report from Baghdad

says that aircraft belonging to the Iraqi air force have attacked the Iranian coast, with planes making 102 sorties and helicopters, 49. The Iranian artillery continues to shell Basra.

The situation has become so grave for navigation that Tokyo has decided to suspend shipments of oil from the countries of the Persian Gulf despite the fact that it is from this region that Japan imports 61 per cent of its oil. France gets 32 per cent of its fuel import from the Persian Gulf, and Italy, 47 per cent. The figure for the U.S. is

1970 to 1973, wants to win over the national majority of workers, peasants, small and medium industrialists, young people, the intelligentsia and the indigenous Indians, all those who cherish the ideals of justice and freedom. The movement brings together Marxists and Christians, who seek to unite the whole opposition in the struggle against Pinochet's plans to perpetuate his regime.

The "Appian way" of the left leads through various forms of mass struggle. The movement rejects the fascist plot aimed at perpetuating the truncated constitution of 1980. The left is against state terrorism and militarization. However, as a constant target for bloody reprisals on the part of the tyranny, it recognizes the people's legitimate right to self-defence and believes that the nation's patience is running out. It is calling for the general mobilization of all patriotic forces, proposing to work out a programme of action for the good of the whole people and demanding a boycott of the Pinochet plebiscite.

The working class is becoming increasingly active. The Copper Workers' Confederation, the most powerful trade union in Chile, with a democratically elected left-wing leadership, has recently marked the 16th anniversary of the nationalization of the copper mines, the main source of the country's wealth. The nationalization was unanimously approved by parliament under President Allende. The union has called on the military and civilians to protect national property, struggle for independence and unite all the patriotic forces.

Teachers at 19 universities have called a strike which has been backed by students. There have been clashes between police and demonstrators.

Bullets and votes

Pinochet is trying to build up an atmosphere of terror while claiming that he is the only person who can prevent "chaos." To this end, his political police made short shrift of twelve young men who belonged to the Communist Party and the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front. No one believed the official version that they had staged an armed attack on soldiers. This is another instance of the dirty war Pinochet has unleashed against the Chilean people in order to stay in power until the end of the century.

The fascist authorities organize their trials in such a way as to prevent them boomeranging, as happened during the trial of Dimitrov in Leipzig. Pinochet's men are diligently building up a dossier on Clodomiro Almeyda who was Foreign Minister under Allende and today heads the Socialist Party of Chile and the Union of the Left. He is currently in prison, to which he was confined after his return home. Two outstanding women, leaders of the Communist Party - Julieta Campusano, a former Senator, and Mireya Baltra, a former Labour Minister, are in exile for the same "crime." They too are threatened with being tried in camera, with a verdict carrying a heavy sentence prepared in advance. In addition to "illegal" return home, which under fascist law carries the death sentence, they are accused of other imaginary crimes, such as "advocating violence" and the "violation" of Article 8 of Pinochet's pseudo-constitution which outlaws all people's parties and their leaders.

Under the pressure of innumerable and increasingly grave home and foreign problems, the dictator will undoubtedly put down any resistance by fire and

sword. The question arises, for how long will the upper echelons of the Air Force, Navy and police be able to oppose Pinochet? For while the balance of forces in the junta between Pinochet and his opponents is 1 to 3, he has powerful ground forces and the whole of the government apparatus on his side. The dictator's favourite tactic is surprise attack. He is used to applying the laws of war to politics. Will the junta majority allow itself to be broken, or will it take up the challenge and stand its ground, resorting to any means, remembering how wily an enemy it faces is? This is the key question to which an answer will have to be given soon.

But what of the country? The dictatorship has reduced it to ruin. Chile is caught in the vice of grave crisis. Industrial output is below the 1970 level. Unemployment is running at 30 per cent of the work force. More than 60 per cent of the population is on the brink of starvation. The people are opposed to the dictatorship. As a public opinion survey has revealed, Pinochet will not get even 12 per cent of the votes under the best of circumstances. True, he intends to rig the election results. Like Papa Doc (the Haitian tyrant, Duvalier Sr.), he believes in witchcraft. But not in African voodoo, but in fiddling election returns. In order to preserve the power bestowed on him by the god of tyrants, Pinochet intends to add the votes of "dead souls" - nonexistent electors - to his butchers' bullets. To do so, he will have to curb the resentment of the other members of the military junta and, most difficult of all and historically impossible, overcome the opposition of the whole nation, which is giving him sleepless nights by demanding "Democracy now!"

a mere 6 per cent. Nevertheless, the Americans are taking the lead in the military activity here. At present, about 30 U.S. naval ships are escorting 11 Kuwaiti tankers. British and French warships are also present in the region. Italian and Dutch naval vessels are on the way. According to The New York Times, the Pentagon is planning its naval presence in the Gulf to last at least two years.

The White House administration is underpinning the presence of the U.S. Navy with considerations of navigational security in the Persian Gulf and the protection of American interests in the region. But it is significant that, while in 1984 and 1985 an average of six attacks a month were inflicted on tankers, and last year 8-10, now that the U.S. Navy has been here since the summer, the situation has become seriously aggravated. As if there were a direct relationship between the number of U.S. naval vessels and the number of victims of bombardments, shelling and mine explosions. For example, from August 29 to September 3, 19 oil tankers and dry-cargo ships were attacked here. On one day alone in early September, 7 ships were attacked in the Persian Gulf.

The military intervention by the U.S. and other NATO countries has exacerbated the conflict between Iran and Iraq. A regional conflict could develop into an international one.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly warned against interference by Western countries, especially the U.S., in the affairs of the Persian Gulf, stressing that the way to end the protracted war lies through peaceful negotiation. On July 20, this view was reflected in Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council, binding the two sides urgently to stop hostilities in the Persian Gulf, and start looking for ways of achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict. In mid-September U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar will visit the region in an attempt to ensure that the parties involved in the conflict abide by Resolution 598. Iraq

has expressed its readiness to comply with the resolution provided Iran does likewise.

It is difficult to say at this point whether the mission of the U.N. Secretary-General will be successful. But it is already clear that the military presence of the NATO powers in the Persian Gulf may spark off a much more serious conflict than the prolonged Iran-Iraq war.

DMITRY ZGERSKY

F.R.G.

Strauss versus Kohl

● THE DEBATES IN THE BUNDESTAG CONCERNING THE PERSHING 1A MISSILES HAVE REVEALED PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

The session of the Bundestag was called urgently before the end of the summer recess on the insistence of the Social Democrats and the Greens. Seventy-two Pershing 1A missiles, or to be more exact, their component warheads controlled by the Americans, had become, it is now known, a major stumbling block in the way of reaching agreement on the "global double zero." Washington and Bonn had attempted to prevent Pershing 1As and their component warheads being included in the agreement on the grounds that they belong to "jointly owned" systems.

But a week before the Bundestag session, surprising both observers and many of his closest political associates, Chancellor Helmut Kohl announced at a press conference that, given certain conditions, the Pershing 1A missiles were to be "not modernized but



"Absence of real policy, real steps!! But I've worn my boots out on the road to peace!"

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

dismantled." Kohl emphasized that it was his personal decision, referring to Clause 65 in the Constitution according to which it is the Chancellor who determines the guidelines for government policy. As far as I recall, it was the first time Kohl had so emphatically claimed his right. As a rule, all major decisions are taken by the government and debated in the Bundestag. The reasons for the unusual move were the Chancellor's doubts as to whether he would be supported by the coalition parties.

In the event, he was proved correct. The opposition, pointing to the ambiguity and vagueness of some of Kohl's formulations, in principle acclaimed his statement as a step in the right direction. The Christian Democratic Union, at least on the face of it, obeyed the decision of its chairman, while the Bavarian Christian Social Union registered a resolute protest. Its leader Franz Josef Strauss called an urgent meeting of the party's execu-

tive board, which adopted a 10-point statement. The statement makes it clear that the Bavarian conservatives object not so much to the fact that they were not consulted as to the decision itself. The idea of a "double zero" with the Pershing 1A missiles included is described as "fallacious." The statement is conceived as a kind of platform round which to unite all opponents of disarmament both within and beyond Bavaria. The representatives of the Christian Social Union did not participate in the coalition negotiations on September 1. At their request, consultations on foreign policy issues between the parliamentary parties have also been postponed. The consultations had been scheduled for September 18.

In these circumstances, the Social Democrats submitted a draft resolution to the Bundestag formulating word for word the main points in the Chancellor's statement. These

points, had they been backed by a majority in the Bundestag, would have become law. But, rather than having it put to the vote, the ruling parties, unwilling to be split on this important issue, succeeded in sending the draft resolution to the Bundestag committees to be "studied." The Social Democrats also insisted that the Chancellor make a government statement in the Bundestag, which would make binding his intention to dismantle the Pershing 1A missiles. But Kohl refused. He spoke at the debates but the questions generated by his statement at the press conference remained unanswered. What are these questions?

First and foremost, they concern the future of the nuclear warheads to the Pershing 1A missiles. Kohl merely stated that the U.S. had an exclusive right to their control. Washington, however, makes it clear that the warheads will be withdrawn after the Bundeswehr has dismantled the Pershing missiles. But what do they mean by withdrawn? At the Geneva talks, the negotiators are discussing the problem of dismantling Soviet and American medium-range and shorter-range missiles, but not their withdrawal.

Another point. Kohl reiterated the unfounded argument that the Pershing 1A missiles and their component warheads are "not negotiable" in Geneva. The question is, however, of crucial importance for further negotiations on nuclear disarmament.

Immediately after the Bundestag meeting, Kohl went to Munich in the hope of settling the conflict between the two "fraternal" parties. He talked with Strauss for 5 hours but the meeting did not, evidently, produce any concrete results. Appearing next day on TV, Kohl admitted to a conflict of interests.

The political struggle in the F.R.G. over the "double zero" and the Bundeswehr Pershings, which has already led to a serious crisis in the government coalition, is far from

over. Many questions remain to be answered.

ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

ISRAEL

The trial of Vanunu begins

● MORDECHAI VANUNU IS DRIVEN FROM PRISON TO THE LAW COURT IN A BUS WITH DARKENED WINDOWS. HE WEARS A CYCLIST'S HELMET THAT CONCEALS HIS FACE. HE IS LED INTO THE COURTROOM ALONG A SEALED CORRIDOR. AND YET ON ONE OCCASION VANUNU'S GUARDS WERE CAUGHT NAPPING.

That happened in December 1986. Vanunu managed to press the palm of his hand against the prison bus window. Written on it were the words: "I, M. Vanunu, was kidnapped in Rome, Italy, 30.09.86. BE 504. 21.00." As he emerged from the bus, Vanunu managed to shout "Rome!" before he was gagged.

With the help of Vanunu's brother Meir, who had a brief meeting with prisoner No. 1 in jail, it has been possible to piece together the circumstances of the kidnapping of the Israeli expert. Meir said that Mordechai had been spirited from London to Rome by an agent of the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad, who went by the soubriquet of Cindy.

Vanunu's defence lawyers are demanding that the case be dropped on the grounds that he was brought to Israel illegally and cannot therefore be tried. However, the judges are ignoring the demand and using the helmet and the sealed-off corridor to preserve secrecy. Tel Aviv fears revelations about the operations of its secret services in West European capitals. These services have at the very least broken British and Italian laws, as well as international law.

The three-page, heavily censored indictment accuses Vanunu of state treason aimed at helping an enemy in wartime, and espionage to collect and pass on secret information to cause damage to the state. These accusations carry a maximum sentence of life. The trial has been suspended until the middle of October, as one of the judges has been admitted to an intensive care unit in a cardiac ward in a Jerusalem hospital.

The kidnapping of Vanunu caused an outcry among democratically-minded people in Britain, France and Italy. He has been mentioned as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. The accusations against Vanunu have been received with mixed feelings in Israel. Sober-minded Israelis know that he did not sell secrets to the enemy. Vanunu did not get a penny for his publication in *The Sunday Times*. Nor did Vanunu want to cause damage to Israel's security. He was not a spy. Nobody had asked him to collect data on Israel's secret work to develop the nuclear weapon. Vanunu was prompted solely by his convictions and his conscience.

Vanunu must have been aware of the risks. Mossad agents could have killed him in London without leaving any traces. But Vanunu was brought to Israel for trial to show that there is no hiding from Mossad.

In Israel, he is being tried as a mere criminal, but peace-loving people see his behaviour as an act of civic courage and are speaking up in his defence.

ALEXANDER KAPRALOV

NEW CALEDONIA

Phoney referendum

● SEPTEMBER 13 WILL SEE A REFERENDUM TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF NEW CALEDONIA.

The brutal police suppression of a peaceful demonstration of Kanaks in Nouméa, the capital of New Caledonia, has drawn attention to the struggle of the archipelago's indigenous population for self-determination.

The archipelago has been a French colony for 134 years. From the outset the white settlers treated the indigenous population badly. The Kanaks were forcibly resettled in barren areas, and received the smallest plots of land. The laws of the island state were biased in favour of the white population. The Paris-established government apparatus reacts sensitively to any infringement of the interests of the ruling classes. French neocolonialists have considerable armed forces on the archipelago. More than 12,000 marines, paratroopers and policemen are discharging what is officially called here a "mission of presence."

France encouraged emigration to New Caledonia, thus seeking to create another Francophone country in the South Pacific. The idea was to undermine any attempt at self-determination by altering the relative sizes of the ethnic communities in favour of the settlers.

Although the Kanaks are the most numerous ethnic group, they have been outnumbered for more than 25 years. Today they account for a little over 43 per cent of the population. Europeans account for 37 per cent. The rest are immigrants from former French colonies.

Mass action by indigenous New Caledonians for self-determination in 1984-85 was contained by bloody reprisals. Subsequently brute force yielded before promises of a negotiated settlement. At the same time, official propaganda bu-

sied itself creating an image of a "united Caledonia in which ethnic groups have intermarried and which is determined to remain French."

The propaganda barrage was really intended to conceal the fact that both the last, Socialist government in Paris and the present one have tried to preserve the neocolonialist status quo in New Caledonia. This goal is pursued by the referendum of September 13 intended to decide the fate of the "overseas territory." The Chirac government has decreed that any French citizen who has

lived in New Caledonia for three years has the right to vote. This ensures that French loyalists are in the majority.

The advocates of self-determination are boycotting the referendum. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, President of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, has said that they are not demoralized by the recent developments, and have a large arsenal of means of resistance at their disposal.

The thirteen states of the South Pacific Forum support self-determination for Kanaks. Last year the U.N. included

New Caledonia on the list of non-self-governing territories, thus reaffirming the inalienable right of its indigenous population to self-determination and independence. The question of independence for New Caledonia is on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Articles on the situation in New Caledonia published in France have stressed the strategic aspect. The French military presence in the South Pacific is impressive. It comprises 5,000 servicemen, 14 warships and 20 warplanes.

Early in 1985 France decided to turn New Caledonia into a military base and to build a naval port there.

The French authorities are advancing dubious pretexts for the military preparations in the region. Early this year commander of the French naval forces in the Pacific declared in Nouméa: "We should be on the alert over the Soviet threat in the region."

This is a specious argument given that the Soviet Union has no military installations in the South Pacific.

YURI ZHURAVLYOV

U. S. astronaut speaks for broader cooperation

War in outer space would make space flights impossible for centuries and probably for millennia. If a space battle between satellites and spaceships were to take place, all of near-earth space would be flooded with debris, even the smallest pieces of which would be dangerous missiles capable of causing heavy damage to a space vehicle. As a result, man would be earth-bound for many years to come.

This was part of a speech addressed to an international conference in Paris by Edgar Mitchell of the United States, one of those who blazed the trail to other celestial bodies. On February 1, 1971, the crew of Apollo-14, which included Alan Shepard, Edgar Mitchell and Stuart Roosa, set out for the Moon. Edgar piloted the lunar module which was lowered from the Apollo and provided a lunar home for the astronauts for two days.

Edgar Mitchell was interviewed by New Times during his recent visit to the Soviet Union.

"Your trip to the Soviet Union includes Moscow, Leningrad and other cities where you are going to lecture and meet Soviet people. How do

you personally see the aim of this tour?"

"I'm glad to be in the Soviet Union. This is my first visit for four years, and it is an excellent opportunity to see my Soviet cosmonaut friends again. Of course, I hope to make new friends, and do everything I can to help the people of our countries understand each other better. In Russia, I will speak on behalf of American astronauts and the people of my country. I think there is much more that Russians and Americans have in common than that divides the Soviet Union and the United States."

"Isn't your coming to the U.S.S.R. an example of politics, of what we call 'people's' or 'citizens' diplomacy?"

"I have come to your country as a private person. I shall express my personal views and hope to find people who think as I do. It is through communication between individuals and on the basis of mutual understanding and trust between the citizens of different countries that such diplomacy should be pursued. Contacts between ordinary people will inevitably develop into professional contacts, which in turn



will lead to broader cooperation between nations."

"Would that include cooperation in outer space?"

"Today we need not only cooperation in space, but broader cooperation between all the people on the planet. Space is just one area."

"And I would add that it is a very important area. At the dawn of space exploration, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky said that mankind is acquiring a worldwide ocean which seems to have been deliberately entrusted to it in order to link people into a whole, a single family. I think anyone who has seen the Earth from space understands the need for such cooperation, of which the 1975 Soyuz-Apollo programme, on which our countries collaborated, was a brilliant example."

"Yes, space is the cutting edge of technological progress and scientific thought. But progress must continue. We

want to peep further into the expanse of the Universe, and with every new step it becomes more difficult for individual countries to accomplish this single-handed. Common efforts on the part of all peoples are needed to tackle programmes on the scale of space exploration.

"Of course, differences and conflicts are bound to arise, because people are so different. All nations have their traditions, different social structures, and different political setups. That is why, like most cosmonauts and astronauts, I believe that the key task today is to resolve the contradictions existing on the planet without recourse to arms. Unfortunately we sometimes come close to catastrophe, but each such incident reminds us how important it is to do everything to prevent war. I should like to believe that even at those moments when passions run high, there will be cool heads that will prevent the fuses of man's self-destruction from igniting."

"Do you think a new U.S.S.R.-U.S. handshake in a space orbit is a possibility?"

"Certainly. And the sooner the better. I think our astronauts and cosmonauts, scientists and designers must resume fruitful joint work. Russia and America must set an example to the world of cooperation in various spheres. This offers the only hope for the world, and for future generations."

**Interviewer
ALEXANDER GURNOV**

The example of Chautauqua

The participants to the third conference on U.S.-Soviet relations have left Chautauqua. A couple of days later the town's summer residents left too. Only some two hundred will stay for the winter. But the name of the town has been firmly established in the international political lexicon, having become, along with Jurmala in Latvia, a symbol of what is now known as "people's diplomacy."

Looking back at the conference, I keep asking myself whether such undeniably costly activities make any practical sense! I touched on this more than once in my conversations in Chautauqua.

Not far from the open-air amphitheatre where the major meetings took place, I spoke with our famous actor and director Evgeny Lazarev.

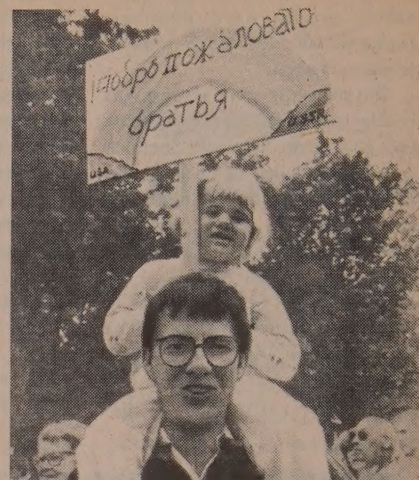
"I like the way the conference is proceeding," he said. "This is my second time here and I can discern two sides to our relations. The first is a burning interest in everything that concerns us and the desire to be friends on the part of Americans, ordinary people who raise children and go about their usual everyday concerns. The way our delegation was welcomed in the central square of Chautauqua, the slogan 'Welcome, brothers!', sincere smiles, the hospitable attitude to their guests - all this shows the human side, and this is obvious. People want understanding, they want to leave the grim phase we are going through behind. It is in the air. In order to understand who is who, to come to an awareness that we are all human beings, and have similar interests-for all this such meetings are indispensable."

"The second side of the coin comprises those areas where our positions are in conflict," Lazarev went on. "I have taken part in the 'round-table' discussions on disarmament and human rights. Here real battles are fought, with the two sides trying to outdo each other. They refer to history, try to find the root cause, precedents, and chalk up points... But this is the wrong way. I liked the way Mario Cuomo, Governor of New York State, talked. He spoke of what unites us. This is how it is in family life: if a husband and wife start recalling each other's faults, infidelities, rows and so forth, they will get nowhere and will split up. If they want to live together, they should talk of things that lead to understanding, practise tolerance, and build a life together on the basis of harmony and understanding,

instead of bearing constant grudges against each other. And here in Chautauqua people hurl recriminations at each other; it astonishes me... Of course, people probably need to speak out, and get things off their chest. But important meetings are being planned between Shevardnadze and Shultz, and possibly, a summit meeting. Everyone is hoping for this, and this calls for responsibility."

"You are here as a representative of the arts...."

"Our role, the role of cultural workers, is very modest. Yet when talking to an audience, to people, we probably have an advantage. We have no problems with our colleagues. The 'round tables' on museums, music and theatre were a tremendous success. People filled the aisles, sitting on the floor. We did not talk about formal things like the usefulness of developing exchanges, or how good it would be if tickets cost less in America (when they come to our country tickets cost 5-6 rubles at the outside, while here the prices are 70 dollars, which the ordinary person cannot afford). But we did not speak of this. We spoke of what unites us. That we are all human beings, we all live on a single planet, and have a common attitude to vital things; we spoke of our lives. I spoke in English, recalling the war years when, after the liberation of Minsk by the Soviet Army, cold weather set in and I was provided with the overcoat of an American boy. I said I was very grateful to his parents and to the boy himself, who is probably now 50 like myself. Many then wept. Then after the meeting people came up to me and told about their lives... It generated trust. I am deeply convinced that even a small contact is of importance. And



Hospitable welcome for Soviet guests at Chautauqua.

Photo from the newspaper Chautauquan Daily (U.S.A.)

moreover, it is no good manipulating with stereotypes and using rhetoric. One should tell the truth. I noticed," he concluded, "that during speeches by the representatives of both sides the audience responded with a burst of applause when the people spoke of common values, things that are important and dear to everyone...."

The speeches of one of the most active American representatives at the conference, Fritz Ermarth, were met with boos more often than applause. A special assistant to the U.S. President, senior director of the European and Soviet affairs for the National Security Council, he did not budge from the official stand. He spoke of the "destabilizing influence" of the U.S.S.R. in the Third World, and said that the U.S.S.R. is deliberately raising the question of Pershing 1A missiles in the F.R.G. to block the agreement on missiles and split NATO. Nicaragua? The U.S. is helping establish freedom and democracy there. I asked Ermarth whether there are people, forces or circles in the United States interested in arms buildup, in the arms race. He replied in the negative. And what about the companies making profits from arms? Some do, some don't was the answer. The more so as the U.S. military budget alternately rises and falls. (This is debatable, to say the least, given that the Pentagon's budget in the mid-1960s stood at 60 billion dollars and is now approaching 300 billion). And it is the U.S.S.R. that is really responsible for the arms race... A somewhat unexpected statement was made by the President's special assistant on the relationship between strategic offensive and defensive arms when he claimed that this relationship did not exist.

But even Mr Ermarth, in a conversation with the New Times correspondent, spoke fairly positively about meetings like this one in Chautauqua. They are important political events, he said, because they give evidence of the desire of both governments and both countries to develop a better relationship through open dialogue. Everybody knows about the meetings in Latvia last year, which had a big public impact in the Soviet Union, as they certainly did in the United States. Though we have a different kind of audience here, it looks like being a similarly constructive event. The event in itself is an important symbol and an important vehicle to exchange arguments. I think the principal object is not the influence of this debate on policy but the education of our citizens - yours in the Soviet Union and ours in the United States. To introduce them to the complexities of the issues that address us, to the order of priorities and the psychology that is behind them, to bring them into the world of if not the most intimate diplomacy, something nearly like real diplomacy. Because we talk to one another, as governments, rather like we talk to one another in these debates. And that's an educational, a constructive and in a way disappointing reality. But on the whole it's positive...

The conference took place not long before the meeting of our Foreign Minister and the U.S. Secretary of State. Is there a correlation between these events? I put this question to Stephen Rhinesmith, a major figure at the Chautauqua conference, envoy, and coordinator of presidential initiative for American-Soviet exchanges.

"We hope," he said, "there is a correlation. The public, of course, may act with success independent of their governments but it would be much better done with the governments. Regardless of what kind of arms control pact we reach between the two countries, in this country it is subject to the confirmation of the Senate, and the Senate, in turn, represents the people of the United States. And the people of the United States need to understand what is going on between the two countries. And this conference is committed to this process. If one is going to have a democratically based and supported foreign policy, you have to have an informed electorate. To have an informed electorate you need events like this. Thus there is a very direct correlation between the two events, and we in this country, to all our ability will support a better understanding during the months ahead."

"Will the Chautauqua conference be able to make a practical impact on real political developments?"

"Let's hope it will...."

The same hope was expressed by the granddaughter of the 34th U.S. President, Susan Eisenhower, a well-known public figure who for many years has been arranging contacts between Soviet and American citizens. She thinks the more active the contacts that make it possible to discuss our differences, the broader will be the spheres where mutual understanding is possible. Talking of the Chautauqua conference she emphasized: I think the action of the public, the publications in the press send a strong message to both our governments that people do want progress to be achieved between our countries. And I think that this conference is extremely well timed this year to provide some kind of background and atmosphere for the productive meeting on arms control. That's certainly my hope...

Our conversation with Allen Hyman from the Columbia Presbyterian medical centre (he said with pride that the previous year in Jurmala he had taken care as a doctor of all the members of the American delegation) got off to a not very optimistic start. I don't think, he said, that when we come to know each other better we begin to treat each other better. Civil wars were almost the most bloody wars - wars between people who knew each other well. Like in some families when the brothers dislike each other. The important thing is how you assess the information about another person; whether you are prejudiced. But the doctor ended on an optimistic note: I have three sons, he said, I envy them from the bottom of my heart - they will live in a new and wonderful world.

"I am called a madman for my way of life," said Nick Cellino, an elderly stoutish man with a small beard. "First, I took a very long time to get an education, I was a student until I was nearly forty!" he went on. "Now I am a pensioner but I haven't given up working, I am giving a course of lectures for those who are going to retire, with recommendations on how better to organize their lives, and how to make a little money. I myself find a few months in a year to make a trip in my truck. My truck is fitted out with everything I need - bedding, toilet, kitchen. How much do I need? I earn enough for food and petrol, and hardly spend any money on clothes. Instead I see many interesting things, new places, new people. For some people, this kind of life is madness. But not for me... In Chautauqua I came to the conclusion that it is very good when people meet, exchange opinions, and get to know each other's views. Such meetings should help the politicians reach an agreement...."

This is the view of many Americans.

At Chautauqua, when I asked about the real usefulness of such meetings, human contacts, exchanges of opinions between people, in most cases I heard a positive response. Caring, at least, inquiring people came here. There are, however, others who doubt and object. Their opinions were carried by the newspaper U.S.A. Today.

"It all comes down to trust; we can't trust them. Anything we show them at face value is twisted around. I would oppose further exchanges." (Jerry Potts, a policeman from Florida.) "I have no objections to exchange programmes if they are not used for propaganda." (Eugene Knox, a caterer from California.) Echoes Mark Leslie, an airman from Nevada, "Exchange programmes can be used for propaganda purposes. Those trips can be taken advantage of by the Soviets....It would be better to stay home."

And yet, of the seven opinions quoted by the newspaper, four are in favour of the exchanges. "Anything we can do to promote better understanding between the U.S. and Soviet people is good. Learning creates a better understanding." (Carolyn Maloney, a bookkeeper from South Dakota.) "If I were a schoolteacher I would love to visit the Soviet Union and see how its education system works and compare it with ours in the U.S.A. Some of their teaching ideas might work here." (Rose Hardeman, a programmer from Michigan.) "Exchange programmes promote understanding between countries. If you go to another country to study a different system, it doesn't mean you are there to endorse it but try and understand it." (Preston Duwyenie, artist, Colorado.) "I firmly believe that contacts between lay people are important and could be the basis for future international settlements. The people both want peace, and they don't want more tensions or disagreements than we have now." (Mark Walsh, pensioner, New York State.)

...

It is a current craze in America to jog with earphones on. The wire extends to a player fixed at the waist. Jogging is made easier when you listen to a recording you like, and besides, you lose weight, and build up your muscles. But you don't hear when you are called to. The automobile horn cannot penetrate the earphones either... I was a little concerned for these lonely runners. And it struck me how important it is not to listen, like them, to one and the same recording, but to open up to people, and take in what they say to you, your mind and your conscience.

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY
our special correspondent

Chautauqua-Moscow

A promising experiment

Or what explosions at Soviet test ranges in Kazakhstan have shown

From our special correspondent
EVGENY ANDRIANOV

There is under a minute to go before the explosion. Nearly two dozen people are crowded into a lab where three or four people normally work. We watch the styluses dispassionately drawing lines that barely waver. "The earth's pulse is normal," someone remarks.

Suddenly the instruments come to life and begin to draw sweeping curves. Are they registering the explosion? But it's still several seconds away. Perhaps the blast is ahead of schedule? Or are our watches wrong? "It's an earthquake," explains a seismologist, without taking his eyes off the graphs. "The important thing now is to see whether the signal from the explosion comes through."

Before his words have died away the styluses shudder into feverish movement. The clock shows 7.38 Greenwich Mean Time. Here in Karkaralinsk it is seven hours later to the second.

Excursus into history

In May of last year the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council signed an agreement on the monitoring of compliance with the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. The first seismic station in the Karkaralinsk area began to function on July 11. Subsequently two more stations were set up: one near Bayanaul and one in Karasu. The experiment was divided into two stages: from July 1986 to February 1987 monitoring was done by surface instruments, and from February to July 1987, by high-precision computerized instruments placed at a depth of a hundred metres in specially drilled shafts.

From the outset the instruments have been manned by mixed Soviet-American teams of scientists.

Under the agreement, similar instruments were to be deployed in the U.S. (At the U.S. suggestion, American-made instruments are used both in the U.S. and in the U.S.S.R.)

The U.S. government, however, first refused entry visas to Soviet scientists, and then, after several months of delay, allowed them in, but only on condition that the researchers from the Institute of Physics of the Earth confined themselves to meetings with their colleagues and visiting research centres attached to the Natural Resources Defence Council. The participants in the experiment are still barred from the proving range in Nevada.

It was with great difficulty that the American scientists managed to mount the first-phase instruments in Nevada, making it possible for the experiment to go ahead.

The experiment revealed major differences in the geological structure of the rock at the proving ranges in Kazakhstan and Nevada. These differences influenced the speed with which the signal travelled and, also very important, the speed at which it died away. Rock in Northern Kazakhstan is a much better conductor of seismic signals than rock at the American test range. Moreover, earthquakes in Kazakhstan are rare and weak. In Nevada, earthquakes are frequent, which means more natural interference with the signal.



Academician Evgeny Velikhov (second right) with the American congressmen on the testing ground.

TASS photo

As a result of joint research, adjustments of magnitude for observation posts were determined, making it possible to gauge the yield of Soviet nuclear explosions more accurately. It became clear that before these adjustments were made, American assessments had been exaggerating the yield of Soviet nuclear explosions.

This scientifically disproved allegation that the U.S.S.R. was exceeding the 150-kiloton ceiling on nuclear explosions.

The success of the experiment led, on June 25, to the renewal of the agreement until August 1988. In the new experiment the monitoring posts will be moved as much as a thousand kilometres from the test ranges. This will make it possible to gauge the size of blasts at the lowest ceilings. The number of stations will be increased to five. Also as part of the experiment, a series of low-yield, non-nuclear explosions will be detonated to tune the instruments and determine the lowest ceiling at which explosions can be registered and measured.

It was to watch the adjustment for non-nuclear explosions that a group of scientists, Congressmen and journalists arrived in Northern Kazakhstan.

Among the Soviet scientists were Evgeny Velikhov, Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Professor Mikhail Gokhberg, Deputy Director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of Physics of the Earth, and Corresponding Member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences Igor Nersesov, chief coordinator of the experiment on the Soviet side. The United States was represented by Professor Charles Archambeau of the University of Colorado, Professor Jonathan Berger of the University of California, who heads the team of American seismologists taking part in the experiment, and Dr Thomas Cochran who represents the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council. Democratic congressmen Thomas Downey, Robert Carr, and James Moody were present as observers.

Travelling with the party were 25 Soviet and foreign journalists. The U.S. press, however, was represented by just one correspondent (for The New York Times), who flew in specially from the United States. Under various pretexts the American journalists permanently posted in Moscow declined to take part.

I asked Evgeny Velikhov to explain the aims of the experiment. "When the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater was signed in 1963," he told me, "it omitted underground tests. It seemed at the time that they were impossible to monitor reliably. This argument, incidentally, is still used by Washington to justify its refusal to discuss a total ban on underground tests, although the results of the investigations by Professor Charles Archambeau and other American seismologists and our own data have confirmed that reliable verification is possible.

"If I were to put the aim of the experiment in a nutshell, I would say it is to reaffirm that seismic instruments can detect and measure the smallest of explosions. In other words, we want to prove that

modern instruments will prevent anyone from conducting underground nuclear tests even of ten tons, although the Soviet Union is ready to accept an intermediate solution that would limit nuclear tests to one kiloton."

Day one: the blast

The area of the blast is like the steppe across which we had made our three-hour journey from Karaganda: flat, dry land with a stubble of sparse desiccated vegetation.

The explosives - TNT in corn-shaped granules - have already been planted in thirty 20-metre wells specially drilled for the purpose. The total yield of the charge is 10,145 kilogrammes.

The site of the explosion marked off by red flags is supervised by sun-tanned Evgeny Kapelyushnik, head of the Geological Prospecting Expedition of Tsentrkirghizgeologia. He reads out the explosion specifications which, in addition to information about the type of rock and explosive, contain the exact coordinates. The specifications are handed over to the American side.

The congressmen look indistinguishable from us newsmen. They tape what the scientists are saying and take photographs. Tom Downey, in jeans and a blue T-shirt with the logo of the experiment, is training his video camera on the site of the explosion.

In complete silence we wait for the sixth pip of the radio time signal when the explosion is due.

Here it comes. A cloud of dust rises. The earth trembles under our feet, although we are 300 metres from the spot.

"It's a clean experiment. No rock thrown out," Academician Velikhov is pleased because this means that all the energy from the blast has gone into the waves. It is up to the seismologists now.

Two hours later another, 20-ton, explosion was detonated on the edge of the nuclear test ground. All the stations - Karkaralinsk (245 kilometres away), Bayanaul (250 kilometres) and Karasu (630 kilometres) registered both explosions.

On the way back to Karaganda Nikolai Yukhnin, senior researcher at the Institute of Physics of the Earth, replied to a stream of questions:

"Why aren't Soviet seismic instruments used?"

"Soviet instruments are used along with American ones. You will see them tomorrow."

"How much does the American equipment cost, and will the American side get it back after the experiment is over?"

"The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences bought the instruments for 600,000 dollars."

"What will have to be done to ensure 100 per cent monitoring of all possible nuclear explosions the world over?"

"At present there are thousands of first-class stations deployed across the world which can register the slightest signals at a great distance. It's up to the politicians now."

Day two: nature springs a surprise

The Karkaralinsk monitoring station is situated several kilometres off the city at the foot of a hill, away from the highway. "To minimize natural background noise and interference," explained Professor Berger. "We have instruments that have register even the rustle of leaves. That's why we have placed them in shafts at a depth of a hundred metres. They are linked by underground cables to instruments installed in little covered trucks. By the way, you would do well not to walk, jump or stamp your feet while the explosion is being registered."

After a tour of the station, consisting of three covered trucks with registering equipment and computers, I approached Tom Downey, a Democrat Senator from the state of New York, who led the group of U.S. congressmen, and asked him to share the impressions of the day.

"I shall return to Washington with two new ideas," he said. "The first is that the Soviets have taken another positive step to enable us to adjust our instruments. The second is that we have been able to see for ourselves that even the smallest blast can be detected and measured. This makes the verification process clearer. When we return to Moscow, we'll meet Mr Akhromeyev and Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovsky to discuss arms verification."

"The question of restricting the yield of nuclear explosions to

one kiloton is again before the U.S. Congress. A similar initiative was launched at the House of Representatives on the eve of the Reykjavik summit, but the administration then said that congressmen were tying its hands in the negotiations with the U.S.S.R. and the proposal was dropped."

"We expect the same arguments this time. The administration's attitude on the issue has not changed. But we have increased our seats in the House and won a majority in the Senate. So, even if the President vetoes our bill we will have the chance to hold additional voting and make our point of view prevail."

"If you ask me whether a full moratorium is possible, I think it will remain unrealistic for as long as the Reagan administration is in power. But this does not mean that we should suspend what we are doing at present."

"How do you view the fact that the scientists from our two countries are working together?"

"They have achieved greater success than the diplomats. I find it very useful. I think the next president of the U.S. will want to use it, and he stands to gain a great deal from the useful relations established between Soviet and American scientists."

"You are one of the first American congressmen to come near a Soviet nuclear testing ground."

"Yes, I have thought about it. There is something irrational about observing a nuclear explosion. I don't know you, you don't know me. But I don't want to see Soviet children die. I suspect you would hate at least as much to see American children die. The only time I was at the test range in Nevada was to protest against the testing. I had the same feeling yesterday, and I will have it for as long as the arms race continues."

And this from Robert Carr, representative from the state of Michigan:

"To me, a man remote from science, the size of the blast and the graphs on the paper are less important than what I saw here. What I saw was two teams of scientists working together. This is a confidence-building factor. It gives us confidence that scientists can tackle concrete questions together to save the rest of mankind. This is very important for both our countries."

Inside the covered trucks carrying the registering devices, we see the signal from a ten-ton explosion occurring right after an earthquake coming through clearly.

Commenting on the results of the two-day experiment, Academician Velikhov stressed that "its political importance consists in the fact that it was watched by representatives of the U.S. Congress who were able to see for themselves that a hundredth of the ceiling now being discussed in Congress can be registered in practice. We believe a kiloton ceiling on nuclear tests would be a welcome step forward. But of course our main aim is a total ban. What has been achieved here is a good step towards the main goal. For if we can register ten tons so reliably, it proves that nuclear tests are impossible to conceal."

"What is the scientific value of the experiment, and what do scientists think about the unusual situation during the last explosion?"

The question was taken up by Professor Gokhberg.

"We got beautiful results, and the superimposition of an earthquake was so unexpected and intriguing that it prompted new ideas. The first and the last explosions were held in the same place. I think we should see whether or not the shock waves from the earthquake changed the environment through which the seismic signals travelled. If it did it, this will show when the data are processed. That would provide us with extremely valuable fundamental results. We must take advantage of the gift nature has sprung on us. If my hypothesis is confirmed, we shall try to duplicate the experiment."

Where did the earthquake that sent shock waves to Karkaralinsk actually occur? This last question was answered in Moscow by Oleg Starovoit, head of the Institute of Physics of the Earth Experimental Expedition:

"It occurred 1,500 kilometres south of New Zealand at 6.40 Greenwich Mean Time. It registered 7 points on the Richter Scale and the signal reached Karkaralinsk in about 20 minutes."

Karkaralinsk - Moscow

THE FIFTH PUTSCH

LEONID KUZNETSOV

Armoured personnel carriers filled with troops appeared on the last but one Monday in August on Calle Epifanio de los Santos, one of Manila's main arteries. They roared through crossings against the traffic lights. That days evening newspapers published reports of the command's order confining troops to barracks and putting the police on so-called "red alert." Reporters were told at the international press centre that these measures had been necessitated by the surging wave of strikes and protest demonstrations that broke out when the price of petrol was raised. The authorities feared that the general strike would develop into something more serious. But the blow at the administration came from different quarters. A mutiny broke out. It was led by Gregorio Honasan, who had long been the right-hand man of the leader of the Philippine right, Juan Enrile.

How was the mutiny, the fifth during Corazon Aquino's eighteen months in office, possible?

Assassination

There was a peculiar political aspect to the beginning of the work of the supreme legislative body, the parliament. This was that the Senate was one deputy short, as not all the votes had been counted by the time the parliament assembled. The name of former Defence Minister Juan Enrile was the 24th and last to appear on the list of those who won most votes. True, he topped the list for the sum spent on canvassing: 9,747,639 pesos (1 dollar = 20.5 peso). Former Minister of Labour Augusto Sanchez was not elected. He questioned the election returns counted

by the election commission and, on grounds of blunders, abuse and the rigging of election returns by the right, succeeded in getting a recount in 6,000 election districts. It was therefore uncertain who would be the 24th member of the Senate. Eleven of the 200 seats in the House of Representatives remained vacant for similar reasons.

The supreme legislative body started its work in an extremely complex atmosphere.

"The Philippines, all 7,000 islands, are faced with 7,000 problems," I was told by a professor at the St. Thomas University. "The country continues to experience serious economic ailments. The working people are hard hit by unemployment. Foreign monopolies are not budging an inch, but stepping up pressure on the administration to secure greater scope for their activity and freer play for the market economy, that is the dollar, the yen and so on. They are demanding that the controlling role of state bodies pursuing the interests of the national economy be ended. The foreign debt has risen to alarming proportions, reaching 28.58 billion dollars."

The state of affairs in rural areas gave rise to particular concern. Feeling that the grapes of wrath nurtured by famine, disease, arbitrary practices on the part of landowners and paramilitary units formed by them were about to fall on the soil of universal discontent, President Aquino was eager to alleviate tension before the parliament assembled. But the programme of land reform she advanced was given a hostile reception by rich Filipino and foreign landowners. They declared that they would incite terror if anyone tried to infringe on their rights or encroach on their property. Those who expressed the interests of the peasantry also criticized the reform. They believed that it was of compromised character and was aimed

above all at letting off the steam of discontent, and thus weakening and eroding the social base of the left and helping the army suppress any protests from the people.

It was in this atmosphere that the parliament started to discuss the agrarian reform. An incident that occurred at that point was the first link in the chain of events leading to the attempt at a coup, the fifth such attempt in 18 months. Philippine Minister of Local Government Jaime Ferrer was assassinated. Five unidentified persons opened fire on the minister's car as he returned from an evening Mass. The bandits who waylaid the victim near his home fled. The assassination shocked Filipino ruling circles.

Jaime Ferrer, who would have been 71 in October, had been appointed to the ministerial post in December 1986. The newspaper *Malaya* commented that Ferrer's appointment to the cabinet "was due to American interference."

The newspaper *Inquirer* said that Jaime Ferrer "was considered one of the staunchest anti-communist members of the Aquino cabinet and an open advocate of right-wing vigilant groups" (armed groups of extremists of the *Alsa Masa* kind - L.K.). On the other hand, the newspaper *The Star* noted that Ferrer "had been aggressive in cracking down on corrupt inefficient officials in charge."

Who was it that masterminded and carried out the assassination? Some reporters and politicians immediately ascribed it to "special units" of the insurgent New People's Army. But they could not produce any proof. For this reason more cautious views and assumptions prevailed. In view of the assertions of certain observers that Ferrer mirrored the policy, its weak and its strong points alike, of President Corazon Aquino, the assassination goes beyond such notions as "personal hatred," "criminal sally," or even an attempt to cast a slur on the left by asking the question: "To whose advantage was it to kill the Minister?" At the same time one has the impression that the right-wing extremists viewed Ferrer's death as a godsend, as it afforded them a respite in which to regroup, and an opportunity to mar the work of parliament with nervous tension. The agrarian reform and other problems awaiting solution were forgotten for several days. And at that moment the above-mentioned Juan Enrile made his triumphant entry to parliament.

Juan Enrile, the candidate of the bloc of bourgeois opposition parties, former Minister of National Defence, and acknowledged leader of the right, who made no secret of his antipathy to President Aquino, was delighted with his



The putschists have been dealt with. Philippine President Corazon Aquino appears on TV.

AP-TASS photo

triumph. He has become the 24th senator, while the claims of his rival, Augusto Sanchez, have been shattered. Enrile was the last to enter the Senate, but he has immediately become the first of the senators in terms of personal wealth. According to money market clerks, his property is valued at 35,813,712 pesos.

Parliamentary correspondents say the U.S. embassy was overjoyed at the Supreme Court decision that gave preference to Juan Enrile over Augusto Sanchez, who in some measure expressed the interests of the left. It is believed in the U.S. embassy that the legislative body has been joined by another reliable politician who will help implement the United States' main strategic line with regard to the Philippines, that of preserving U.S. military bases in the archipelago.

Petrol to feed the fire

There were severe traffic jams in various parts of Manila one Friday evening in August. Congestion formed because queues of cars stretched from filling stations to the adjoining streets. There was a rumour that the price of fuel was to go up. True, even those at the end of the queues thought it no more than a rumour, believing that the government would be able to keep its promise not to raise prices. But alas, the state energy authority announced that prices of fuel would go up as of August 15 by an average of more than 80 centavos, that is, 18 per cent.

Few were prepared for such a blow as this meant that the price increase on petrol would trigger off a chain reaction as a result of which everything, from rice and medicines to services and notebooks,

would be more expensive. And this in a country where, as the President said recently, three in five families live below the poverty line, and where 2.6 million able-bodied people are unemployed.

Prominent businessman R.T. Concepcion, leader of the Buy Philippine movement, said that as a result of the price increases, inflation will reach ten per cent as early as the third quarter of this year. The official explanation for an 18 per cent rise was that the Philippines has recently been buying oil at 17.5 dollars per barrel, as against 13.6 dollars six months ago, and that Philippine and foreign companies that process oil into fuel and market oil products had demanded a price rise on petrol to offset their losses. This explanation may make sense. But the public resented the haste with which the government bodies responded to the complaint from the oil magnates. Moreover, the utter dependence of the Philippines on the fluctuations of Western business once again gave cause for concern.

In a joint statement to parliament, Congressmen G. Andolana and V. Harduce declared: "We must reaffirm our resolve not to capitulate to the dictates of big foreign oil companies and big foreign banks interested in nothing else but superprofits for themselves. We must all work in Congress and outside to end foreign economic domination in our country now." Many trade union activists in the Philippines demanded that this slogan be emblazoned on banners at strikes and rallies against the industrialists' arbitrariness. The people's anger was so evident and the activity of the working people so widespread and concerted that the government was compelled to do an about-face and announce that it would try to return to the old prices or, at any rate, increase them by only a slight, reasonable percentage.

And then the unpredictable happened. The right, incensed by the fact that the President had heeded the demands of the public, attempted a coup. It was the most serious such attempt during the Aquino administration's term in office. One newspaper ran a commentary to the effect that Ferrer's assassination could be compared to the burning of the Reichstag. The right was clearly displeased with the fact that the President had not brought down an iron fist on all progressive nationalist forces. It was then that the right decided to do so itself and, taking advantage of Aquino's retreat, try to overthrow her or, failing that, at least to undermine the mainstays of the current regime. Their action did not go without the blessing of certain circles in the United States, the less so as they are concerned about the fate of the Pentagon's bases in the Philippines and are expressing

obvious dissatisfaction at the spread of anti-imperialist attitudes.

U.S. pressure

Prior to the arrival of a new U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, acting ambassador Philip Kaplan stated that the "defeat of the candidates supported by the Communists in the last Congressional election was a source of 'great satisfaction' to the U.S." In this way the White House "delicately" indicated, through its representatives, what the United States expects of the Philippine legislative body. But in this case and in the given situation not everything did go as smoothly as Washington would have liked. Displeasure with the U.S. military presence again increased and not only among the public as a whole, but also in the highest echelon as well. Before parliament went into session, several senators visited the Philippine Foreign Ministry. The legislators concentrated on the question of the U.S. bases, a question that will undoubtedly be the chief concern of parliament after the agrarian reform. A correspondent for the Manila Times testified that some senators had proposed, with considerable emotion, to inform Washington immediately of Manila's wish to go back on the U.S.-Philippine agreement on U.S. bases, that is to tell the U.S. to remove the bases. Moreover, 12 senators put forward draft laws in parliament envisaging a ban on the deployment or presence of any nuclear weapons. The congressmen heeded the Philippine public, indignant at the fact that the battleship Missouri, armed with Tomahawk missiles, had put in at the base in Subic Bay.

It looks as if, faced with such attitudes, the United States is not going to stand idly by. Through loyal people in the press and the foreign minister's office, Americans are spreading disinformation about Soviet interference in Philippine affairs. Anti-Soviet allegations are topped with newspaper reports that "Soviet submarines have intruded into Philippine territorial waters." The press has made references to a senior official in Malacanang (the presidential office). But it has not cited either the official's name, the date, or the locality of the submarines' "intrusion."

The allegations about the "Soviet threat" are just one method of exerting pressure on the administration. Other methods have been used. The CIA recently leaked information and through its agent in the Philippines made it known to the Philippine public that the White House was displeased with the current

administration. And senior Washington officials are asking the provocative question of whether Corazon Aquino will be able to keep her post till her term of office expires. White House attacks on the President of the Philippines, whether direct or indirect, covert or overt, are accompanied by stepped-up action by the right extremists. As a result of this accumulated pressure, it is being increasingly often said, though with caution, that a "pragmatic stand" should be taken with regard to the bases, that is, that there should be no hurry about removing them as they provide jobs for 40,000 Philippine workers. The Americans, too, have decided to bank on pragmatism. They have announced that the bases will soon be an additional source of dividends for another large group of Philippine entrepreneurs. John Gildea, commander of the U.S. Naval Supply Depot Contracting Department, has said "U.S. facilities in the Philippines are buying stocked items, such as coveralls, plastic bags, rags, furniture, paint and plumbing materials, which they could also sell to other U.S. bases in the Western Pacific." The formula emerged: "Not against the bases, but against the bases remaining indefinitely." This appealed to the editors of the Pentagon newspaper, Stars and Stripes, and they noted with unconcealed satisfaction that a number of senators have taken this stand. The same views are current at the level of executive power. Minister of National Defence Rafael Ilto holds that the U.S. bases are indispensable to the Philippines, as the "Philippine army is being devoted to maintaining peace and order within our country." Philippine Vice-President Salvador Laurel is also in favour of keeping the bases. Incidentally, he is against a comprehensive agrarian reform. And this brings us back to square one: anyone who is for bases is against the reform.

There is still no answer to the question put by the newspaper Malaya when it published the details of congressmen's personal fortunes. "How can the poor, who make up 70 per cent of the population, expect their voice to be heard in Congress, when more than 95 per cent of the senators and more than 80 per cent of their congressmen belong to the moneyed and largely landed class?"

* * *

...Things are quiet now on Epifanio de los Santos. Buses, rickshaws, and private cars drive along the street. The mutiny has been suppressed. The press reported that the 1,120 military who took part in it have surrendered to the authorities. The putschists' leader, Gregorio Honasan, and several hundred of his accomplices are in hiding in the highlands. Strong security measures have now been taken to ensure calm, at least in the capital. But will it last?

Manila

14

CUBA

Tackling the problems of growth

The lights in the conference hall go out. The screen shows a new construction project in the Cuban province of Cienfuegos. The camera looks dispassionately at workers taking a long break for a smoke, and idling while waiting for cement to arrive, and then zooms in on several assembly workers taking a nap.

"There was an embarrassed hush in the audience," said Angel Alvarez, sector head at the provincial committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. "A film about sloppy work and poor discipline proved more convincing than any number of speeches. That is why the discussion after the film was so frank."

Frankness, sincerity, and forthrightness are the features of the present-day atmosphere in Cuba. Pursuant to the decisions of the Third Party Congress, the republic's Communists - who now number half a million - have become more self-critical of the way they act in the economy, the Party and public life. The psychological climate in the country has become much healthier.

It is true that Cubans are taking a hard look at what they have achieved. They do not gloss over the difficulties that have accumulated, and speak frankly about stagnation. Nevertheless, Cuba is justly proud of its revolution, for the country is continuing to advance, whatever obstacles arise along the way. After the almost three decades since the revolution the basic fact remains that Cuba has withstood heavy trials and has won through.

All this comes to mind when you read the recent New Times article about the problems of today's Cuba. I refer to the reply by your staff writer Vladislav Chirkov to Colombian reader Sergio Martinez, published in issue 33 under the title "An Uphill Task."

I think it was an interesting and worthwhile article. At the same time, having spent six years in Havana as a correspondent, I am in a position to look at some of the problems raised by my colleague from a different angle, and to add something to his assessment.

For example, the Colombian reader is

not sure that the European CMEA countries have managed to bring Cuba up to their own economic level.

Let me say from the outset that the gaps in levels of development are narrowing. Consider the facts. Since the revolution Cuba has increased its electrical energy output more than sixfold, its steel output more than 40-fold, and textiles production threefold, while the volume of engineering and metalworking products has increased from 29 to 795.9 million pesos. The overall average annual growth of the gross national product has been the highest on the continent (7.3 per cent in the first half of the eighties).

The country owes much of this impressive performance to truly fraternal (the high-sounding word is quite in order) assistance on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They account for 83 per cent of Cuba's foreign trade; they have helped and continue to help Cuba build its spearhead economic projects. The theory of "geographical fatalism," which maintains that Cuba's close relations with the U.S.S.R. and the other CMEA countries are unnatural and unpromising, is suffering new setbacks.

"But in that case," I was often asked by some Latin Americans in Havana, "why has this assistance failed to give glamour to the streets of Havana, or enable Cuba to produce mountains of goods and build luxurious trade centres similar to those in Mexico, Caracas or, say, Bogota?"

It bears repeating that neither Cuba nor her closest partners set themselves the tempting goals of creating a "consumer paradise." On the contrary, foregoing the temptation of quick success, the republic is concentrating its efforts on labour-intensive and long-term projects that do not promise quick returns but guarantee economic stability. Aware of the basic differences between socialist and capitalist industrialization, Cuba has purposefully been investing large sums in developing backward parts of the country and creating a modern infrastructure in industry, transport, science and technology.

The investment has not been in vain: the country has built 35,000 kilometres of highways, 30 times more than the total length of the roads in Cuba before the revolution. Cuba now has 150-odd times more reservoirs than under the neocolonialist regime, and the tonnage of its trade fleet has increased more than 17 times over. It has an extensive national power grid. Such investments are vital for a former neocolony. But they do not of themselves create goods or profits. That takes time. This may go some of the way towards answering the question raised by Sergio Martinez in his letter.

Of late the press has written - frequently and with good reason - of the acute housing problems in Cuba. But it is worth noting that since the revolution the government has built more than 700,000 flats, and another 200,000 dwellings have been financed by the people themselves. This record (on a per capita basis) is equalled by few countries in Latin America.

Cubans do not conceal the fact that they have food rationing. And yet Cuba was the first Latin American country to eradicate famine with the help of the fraternal countries. The average daily diet of a Cuban is almost 3,000 calories, and 79.9 grammes of protein. And this at a time when even Argentina, which has outstripped its neighbours in providing

a balanced diet for its people, is again talking of malnutrition and even hunger.

Special mention should be made of such spectacular and socially important spheres as health, education and sport. Under the popular government 75 modern hospitals have been built; 575 secondary schools costing about a million pesos each have been constructed by industrial methods; hundreds of thousands of skilled workers and professionals have been trained since 1959; Cuba has been sweeping the board at international sports contests. It has one doctor for every 399 citizens, and infant mortality has fallen to 13.6 per 1,000.

I hope the figures I have cited will convince Sergio Martinez that the social and economic gap between Cuba and the European CMEA countries is not widening, but narrowing, though perhaps not as quickly as we would like.

I think Chirkov is exaggerating when he speaks of the "heavy moral burden," which "must weigh on the Cubans," referring to the country's debt to the other socialist states. Modern Cuba is anything but a bankrupt begging for alms. Its exports run into billions of pesos. One in three spoonfuls of sugar consumed in the Soviet Union comes from Cuba. And the size of Cuba's debt, like the size of its trade deficit, is still debated even by economists.

Some experts compare the preferential

Soviet prices for Cuban sugar with those on the world capitalist market which have now hit an all-time low. But is this approach entirely justified? Take if only the English-speaking states in the Caribbean, which supply their sugar to Britain at prices three times higher than the world average. They sell on the world market only what remains after the agreed quotas have been met.

Likewise, there is no simple answer to the question of "Cuba's crippling burden of defence expenditure," which has been made great play of in the world press. Of course maintaining armed forces is a costly business. But it is hardly cause for complaint in the real Cuban context. Otherwise the country might find itself in the position of a passenger on an old ship who exclaimed: "It's a fair wind, but the sails are a hindrance." Could Cuba exist at all as a socialist state without a strong and reliable defence?

Chirkov thinks it problematical whether the United States is going to attack Cuba. Yet the United States has more than once organized direct aggression against the island.

In 1961 the United States landed mercenary troops on Playa Giron, and in 1962 provoked the notorious "Caribbean crisis." To this we should add the economic blockade, the diplomatic war and various acts of sabotage. The seventies saw bacteriological aggression against Cuba's tobacco plantations and livestock farms. This, incidentally, was admitted by the American press. Today in the eighties Washington sanctions provocative flights over Cuba by its warplanes and is weaving anti-Cuban intrigues in the international crediting and financial centres. It has unleashed a psychological media war against Havana. In 1981 and 1983 Cuba and its northern neighbour came within a hair's breadth of open conflict.

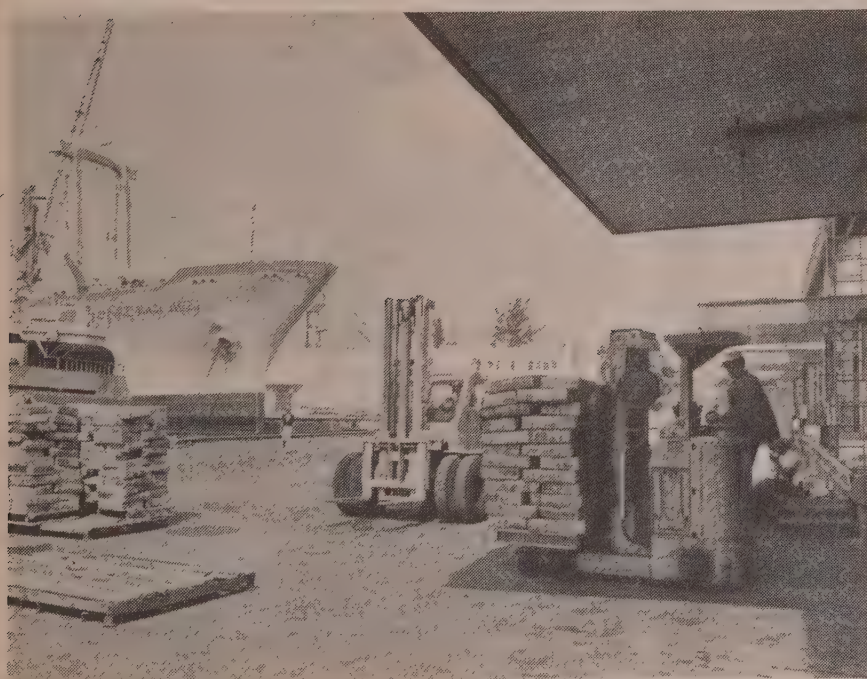
To sum up, then. The Cuban situation, like that in any other country, requires a balanced and dialectical approach. The pioneers of socialism in the Western Hemisphere are fighting an uphill struggle: in their country historic achievements often coexist with the legacy of age-old backwardness, and enthusiastic work and popular patriotism with inefficiency in some branches of the economy. There are unfortunately many flaws in the mechanism of cooperation between Cuba and her friends. It is all the more important then to know and give due credit to what has been created and achieved by the first free territory in America that has become the foundation for its future.

PAVEL BOGOMOLOV

Pravda correspondent for New Times
Havana

Ships from the socialist countries often call at the port of Havana which links Cuba with dozens of countries.

Photo by L. Yakutin



Policy of national reconciliation

Guided by good will and a sense of responsibility for the nation's future, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has declared its readiness to begin talks with all Khmer groups, except the Pol Pot clique.

But no sooner was the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed than the opponents of this policy and the Kampuchean government became active. They resorted to the tested method of trying to force a political settlement in Southeast Asia into an impasse.

Unfortunately, the reality is that the clear and realistic proposals for the patriotic forces to unite for the sake of Kampuchea's future, supported by Vietnam and Laos, the country's allies in its struggle for independence, have not been appreciated by certain of the republic's neighbours. Moreover, meeting in Bangkok, the representatives of the ASEAN countries called into question the statement made by the Foreign Ministers of Vietnam and Indonesia that the two opposing Kampuchean sides are ready for an informal meeting. What is the reason for such a stand? It lies in the desire to back those who have committed grave crimes against their own people.

The paradox is that while the P.R.K. government has declared that it is prepared to meet with the opposing Khmer formations and their leaders (barring Pol Pot and his closest accomplices) to discuss steps towards national reconciliation in Kampuchea, the enemies of the long-suffering republic are attempting yet again to exonerate the Pol Potists of their crimes and whitewash the killers. They are engaged in rhetoric as if "the leader of the nation," Pol Pot, had never pronounced the inhuman phrase "out of eight million Kampucheans, we need no more than one."

The cost of the "political experiment" to the people of the whole country is notorious worldwide for the three million killed, 200 thousand orphaned and the elimination of 90 per cent of the intelligentsia. Of 2,300 teachers, only 207 survived. More than 305 thousand workers and government employees and over 100 thousand students were tortured to death, and over 141,000 maimed for life.

The organizers of the genocide, hiding from retribution, sometimes express their regret that they did not succeed in seeing through their "experiment." Airing his views, Ieng Sary, sentenced to death in 1979 together with Pol Pot by the people's revolutionary tribunal, says that there were mistakes but "can excesses be avoided during the building of a hitherto unknown society? Our trouble is that we were too slow."

All whom I met in the zone of the Kampuchean-Thai border, whether captured Pol Potists or people who voluntarily came over to the side of people's power, bore witness that the refugees in the Pol Potist camps in Thailand, or, to be more exact, in the paramilitary bases, were living in the all too familiar atmosphere of terror, plundering and total surveillance, often fighting over the distribution of the "aid" that was coming in from the outside.

People in the republic are aware of this. And, therefore, as stated in the Phnompenh-promulgated programme, the government of Kampuchea sympathizes with the sufferings of compatriots in the refugee camps in Thailand. It calls on the Thai authorities and international organizations to end the use of the refugee camps in the military and political activity against the people. An end must be put to forced mobilization and corruption, military personnel must be withdrawn from the camps and the camps must be passed over to the control of international humanitarian bodies.

Having announced the policy of national reconciliation, the government of



Phnompenh. Independence Monument.
TASS photo

the People's Republic of Kampuchea has proposed that all Kampucheans unite as a single entity irrespective of their past record, social class and trade, and ideological and religious beliefs. The government will grant civil rights to members of the armed groups who voluntarily give up their arms.

Kampuchea regards all those who have been deceived by false propaganda as victims of the reactionary forces, and calls on them to return home and reunite with their compatriots. The republic recognizes the patriotism of members of the Kampuchean intelligentsia living abroad who have contributed and continue to contribute to the development of their homeland. The government guarantees that favourable conditions will be created for Kampucheans living abroad so that they can participate in the construction and defence of their country. Those who wish to return will be entrusted with positions that match their abilities and their contribution to the common cause.

The Soviet Union, as was pointed out in the Foreign Ministry statement, is prepared jointly with all parties concerned to facilitate a political settlement of the situation around Kampuchea.

"The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by our government meets the ultimate objectives of the people. This is an act of good will and the manifestation of a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the country," said Kong Korm, Foreign Minister of the P.R.K., speaking in Moscow at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

EVGENY FADEYEV

NEW TIMES

37.87

Efficiency yardsticks

LEONID YAGODOVSKY, deputy director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, is interviewed by New Times reporter Marina Shakina.

I would like first to ask about the role of economics in socialist society today. The impression is that it is lagging behind. However, some economists believe that theory should not be ahead of practice. Does theory then adapt to practice, or is it the other way round?

Economic processes in socialist society are not spontaneous. They develop in accordance with objective economic laws. The conscious activity of the state should not be dismissed either. So does practice adjust to theory, or vice versa? The answer is that they are interconnected and interdependent. Practice needs scientifically-based goals and guidelines. It is impossible to achieve success by trial and error alone. Theory is called upon to help practical workers gain deeper insight into social processes. But theorists should show courage and fidelity to principle in raising urgent issues.

It was previously believed that the political economy of socialism is a rejection of capitalist political economy. Western economists, however, claim that as long as there is commodity production, the economic laws at work under socialism are the same as those under capitalism....

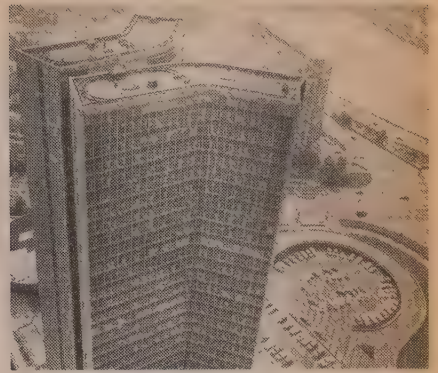
This is to put it rather crudely. There was a time when a number of objective laws were declared to be capitalist relics. These included, for instance, the law of value. The attitude was either to deny its existence altogether or to try and reduce its impact to nought. The situation we now have with prices and proportions in the national economy, and likewise with the manufacture of consumer goods, is largely a result of that approach. This is an example of how theory was appreciated for anything but an objective analysis of

reality. The role of economics in preparing important socio-economic decisions in this country today has increased immeasurably. I would say that the whole of our society is now in the process of re-evaluating the role and place of economics. This is especially manifest in public affairs articles in our press. Many of them are characterized by personal interest and a desire to analyze the economic processes not only of yesterday but also of today. The open and public clash of views should lead to more thoroughly substantiated, better considered and more carefully weighed decisions.

The relationships between economic theory and practice in other socialist countries are not smooth either. But there are still positive examples. Economists, for instance, both initiated and were actively involved in the work of devising drastic economic reforms in Hungary in 1968.

Soviet experience was previously considered a model to emulate in every field. What do economists think now?

Lenin pointed out that integral socialism is made up of many attempts by different countries, with each of these attempts per se showing a certain imbalance and inadequacy. In those years there was no question of building socialism anywhere but in one country, and so that fundamental idea pre-empted, as it were, everything else. When the world socialist system came into being, that tenet of Lenin's was not given due regard. Today we have returned to his approach: no one has a monopoly on the ultimate truth, no one may act as supreme arbiter, deciding whether economic issues are being tackled correctly or incorrectly, well or badly in this or that country. The most



important thing is to take one another's experience into account. This applies equally to the U.S.S.R. and to the other countries.

Each nation is looking for its own path, but it is only the collective international experience of all the socialist countries that makes up integral and definitive socialism. The enhancement of socialism in practice, socio-economic efficiency and rising living standards, should be the principal yardsticks that make it possible to see if the economic policies of one or other state are correct.

What have you to say about the state of affairs in the economies of socialist countries today?

The task on the agenda in the European socialist countries - and all, of them, despite all their differences and distinctive features, are at about the same level of development - is economic intensification. Most of them have embarked on the effort late, and this was the reason for negative trends in their economies in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, especially the decline in their economic growth rates....

But it was claimed at one time that such a downswing is impossible under socialism....

It was possible for that view to dominate in the early phase of building socialism, when development was for the most part extensive, that is, secured through building up capacity, tapping new resources and drawing further masses of people into production. The socialist countries demonstrated an impressive rate of development, but as extensive sources of growth dry up and the emphasis shifts to intensification, the dynamics of progress is no longer necessarily high.

Besides, one should understand that the weight of each per cent has increased many times over. In the CMEA countries a gain of one per cent in the national income in the current five-year-plan period is equal in absolute terms to six per cent between 1976 and 1980, and 14 per cent at the beginning of the 1950s.

With new demands being made on the economy and new tasks being set in it, a decline in growth rates has in a sense been inevitable. But whether the fall-off should have been as steep as in the early 1980s is another matter.

Disrupted balance in the national economies, both internal and external, has been another significant trend. It has led to and reinforced inflationary tendencies. These are especially pronounced in Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary, but are at work in all the other countries as well, where the disrupted internal balance also shows in budget deficits, lack of funds for capital investments, and delays in getting industrial projects under way, with a resultant deterioration in the consumer goods market.

Foreign economic activities also suffer from imbalance, as is evidenced by the growing liabilities and balance of payments deficits in many countries.

What are the root causes of all this?

These are, primarily, structural issues, tardiness in getting to grips with the problems of intensification, and an outdated production pattern incapable of ensuring the normal functioning of the economy, including foreign economic contacts.

We have so far been speaking only of problems in the European region....

Let me add a few words about the developing socialist nations - Vietnam, Cuba, Laos and Mongolia. Their prime task at this juncture in their development is to supply their populations with food and staple manufactured goods, develop infrastructures and increase export funds. Attempts by individual countries to shift the emphasis to the growth of industry, especially heavy industry, have complicated efforts to cope with these imperatives.

In that case, the idea that heavy industry should be promoted as a matter of priority is not always an absolute truth?

Of course not. In this country in the 1920s and 1930s developing heavy industry was a matter of life and death. The struggle for survival justified industrialization at all costs. It seems to me that in present-day conditions there is no great need for the developing socialist nations to go the same way.

In the 1950s the prevalent trend was to copy our model (it was characteristic of both European and non-European socialist countries), but as they have gained their own experience, they have come to see the situation more realistically and taken a more sober approach to the order of priorities. One example is the decisions of the latest congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam: less blind imitation, more economic creativity.

You haven't mentioned the People's Republic of China.

The P.R.C. stands somewhat apart from the rest of the socialist community. From the end of the 1950s up to the mid-1970s its economy went through repeated crises. As a result of the political chaos wreaked by the cultural revolution, China has lost a whole decade. Over recent years, however, it has achieved impressive results. At the beginning of the 1980s the average annual growth of the national income came to some 10 per cent, industrial production to more than 11 per cent, and agricultural output to around 12 per cent. Foreign trade dynamically increased as well. The chief reason for this success has been positive social change and economic reform.

It is interesting that in China the reform started with the countryside. Priority was given to boosting farming and overcoming the need to import food. The reform in the countryside has provided the economic background for extending the range of reforms to cover other sectors as well. In Hungary in the late 1950s and early 1960s the picture was similar: first the reform was achieved in agriculture to satisfy the food market, and then industrial reform was launched on this basis. As I see it, the example of these two countries of different size is convincing enough - it is reasonable to take agriculture as the point of departure in getting down to removing the problems that have accumulated.

Has the gap in development levels between the European and non-European socialist countries narrowed lately?

It is still great. Closing it will require serious efforts, particularly from the developing socialist nations themselves. But they will certainly not be left without the assistance of the U.S.S.R. and the other European socialist countries. It is important to preclude a situation where newly installed production capacity is under-utilized, the output of newly built factories proves unnecessary, and there is a shortage of qualified local personnel to operate equipment.... A well-considered and thorough approach should be taken in selecting projects to receive economic aid and creating conditions for it to be used with maximum efficiency.

In our view, it is not essential to catch up with the European socialist countries right across the board - industrial production, gross domestic product and so on. The immediate task in these countries is to furnish a sound, normal base for economic growth, which should ultimately lead to higher living standards.

There is one issue that our economists somewhat baulk at discussing. It is living standards in socialist countries. What are their dynamics?

Per capita consumption is the accepted principal gauge of living standards. It depends on national income. Over recent years, when economic growth in socialist

countries had slowed down, so did improvements in their living standards. Moreover, in some countries (Poland, Hungary) over a certain period the real incomes of working people even fell.

Regrettably, socialist countries do not yet lead the world as far as their living standards are concerned.

The reproach is sometimes heard that there is latent, structural unemployment in socialist countries, with some states [Yugoslavia] even having official unemployment....

Full employment and the guaranteed right to work are among the fundamental principles of the socialist social system. What there should be, however, is not only full but also efficient employment, meaning that every member of society should work where he or she can bring the maximum benefit.

In socialist society as well there may arise the need to regroup workforce. Economic and organizational mechanisms should then be put into action to secure the result with minimum social costs.

Both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, the problem of loss-making enterprises is acute. They are a burden on the national economy and, in the final analysis, a drain on the national income, which in turn underlies living standards. The Law on socialist enterprises recently passed in this country suggests several ways of dealing with the problem. Money-losing factories can either be put right (with measures to make them show a profit) or closed down. Economically, as you see, everything is clear. But there are people working at the factory. What is to be done about them? Along with foreclosure proceedings, it is essential to solve the problems of job relocation and retraining and provide the material conditions for this (by paying the closed factory's staff their former wages and salaries either in full or in part over a certain period). The same applies to latent unemployment. As production organization is improved, part of the workforce is released, but this does not in any sense signify that we are on the point of acquiring the problem of unemployment.

Using the example of the U.S.S.R., I can say that, first, we have a substantial proportion of facilities running below capacity (factories operating in one or 1.5 shifts instead of two or three shifts). The reason is shortage of hands. Secondly, there are whole sectors that badly need manpower. This applies in the first place to the infrastructure - the trading industry, medical care and the services. Thirdly, we should exploit the territorial factor. The development of remote areas of Siberia and the Far East will continue. The need for manpower there is still great.

What would you say about the pattern

The tracks of MI6

What is British intelligence, known to the world as the Secret Intelligence Service? Below we continue our investigation of the British special services.

Speaking once to the Conservative Party elite, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe attempted to catalogue the "foreign policy tools" used by his country. While conscientiously listing well-known government agencies, he passed the British secret services over in silence. The Foreign Office chief chose not to hold forth on the subject, even before his select audience, although he knew full well, of course, that the principal British intelligence services are formally subordinate to none other than himself.

The three major organizations whose job it is to spy on the outside world are the Secret Intelligence Service, or MI6, the Government Communication Headquarters (GCHQ) and the Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS). The monitoring service of the BBC should also be added to the list. The British press has recently run many stories about so-called "signal intelligence" (SIGINT) based on radio interception.

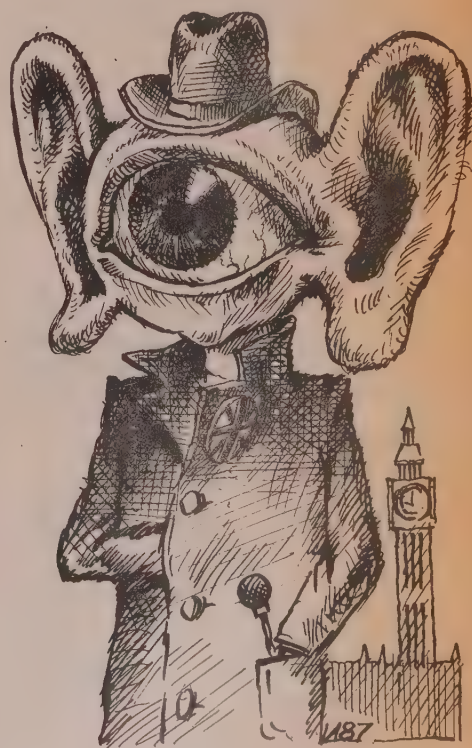
GCHQ is responsible for processing and analyzing all intercepted information. It is based in two complexes near Cheltenham. Set up during World War II, GCHQ is accountable to the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Office. Its director is a Deputy Foreign Secretary. GCHQ consists of four directorates - Organization and Establishment, Sigint Plans and two operational directorates. It has monitoring stations both inside the country and abroad, including such locations as Cyprus, Gibraltar, Turkey, the F.R.G. (five radio interception facilities) and Oman. The precise number of such stations is unknown. GCHQ has a staff of tens of thousands. There are 8,000 people working in its central offices alone. Government outlays on its operations amount to at least 500 million pounds sterling a year.

The DIS, established in 1964, is the umbrella organization for the intelligence agencies of the three arms of the services. Its prime mission is to gather information about the U.S.S.R. The DIS includes five directorates: Service Intelligence, Management and Support of Intelligence, Logistics, Scientific and Technical Intelligence, and Economic Intelligence. The senior officers have their offices in Whitehall, while the analysts are based in the former Metropole Hotel in Northumberland Avenue. The DIS, which also has

a security service of its own, sends military attachés to 65 embassies and missions abroad.

MI6 was formed in 1909 (originally as MI1c). It is often referred to as the Secret Intelligence Service, the name used by its predecessor, which was founded in the 16th century. MI6 has its headquarters in a 20-storey building in London's Lambeth area. Its main operations divisions, each focusing on a specific geographical region, cover Britain, Western Europe, the socialist countries, the Middle East, and the Far East. There is reason to believe that the failure of British intelligence to foresee the conflict over the Falkland Islands in 1983 has prompted the MI6 command to set up a Latin American department as well.

The head of MI6 has for some time been Christopher Curwen, an extremely expe-



Drawing by Igor Smirnov

of trade between the CMEA countries!

The U.S.S.R. is the major supplier of fuel, raw materials and power, which make up upwards of 70 to 80 per cent of Soviet exports to different socialist countries. In return, we receive mostly manufactures. This division of labour has served the interests of both the U.S.S.R. and other countries well for decades. But further increases in supplies of raw materials from the U.S.S.R. are both impossible (considering the real potential of its extracting industries) and unnecessary, as the continued growth of external sources of raw materials and energy does not motivate our partners in the CMEA to use them rationally.

The centre of gravity in cooperation should be moved to exchanges of up-to-date machines and equipment and modern technologies. But the technical standards of machines must be drastically upgraded (this is the only way up-to-date exports can be created). Our CMEA partners have not always supplied us in the past with prime products - this was facilitated by the vast appetite of the Soviet market and its readiness to "swallow" any amount of products, regardless of their quality.

I would like to add that it is not easy to ensure such supplies on the basis of intergovernment agreements. It is possible at the level of state planning committees to come to terms on sales of oil, gas, grain and like products. But when it comes to machines, parts and components, where technical parameters and characteristics are extremely important, it is essential to "get down" to the level of factories - the specific users of the products supplied.

CMEA's activities are also handicapped by unresolved financial problems. The issues of crediting relations and currency convertibility should be resolved as a matter of priority. The task was set in a comprehensive programme way back at the beginning of the 1970s, but it has not proved possible to make progress towards implementing it. It is impossible to form direct links between production units, and launch joint ventures without developing the financial sphere: it is essential to fix prices, compare inputs and assess the contribution of each side. These are subjects for extensive discussions. It is important that both in this country and abroad there should be a realistic idea of the situation in the economy of the socialist system, and a clear view of problems and trends, so that there is less speculation and conjecture.

An extraordinary CMEA session is to take place in the near future. It is to discuss the issues of streamlining the machinery of cooperation, and there are grounds for hoping that many of the above-mentioned problems will be resolved.

rienced career intelligence officer. According to available data, the service has up to 3,000 staff members, about a third of them posted abroad. Moreover, M16 uses the services of many Foreign Office employees, journalists and businessmen "on a contractual basis." The Exchequer sets aside some 140 million pounds sterling for it every year.

Intelligence officers are, as a rule, Oxford and Cambridge graduates from well-to-do conservative families. M16 personnel also include many former servicemen and policemen. Cases are known in which the service has even hired criminals for special assignments that no one with self-respect would stoop to.

M16 maintains a close business relationship with Special Air Services (SAS) units - the British Red Berets. All the indications are that they never mount combat operations without being given prior briefing by M16.

Seven decades ago, even before the triumphant Great October Socialist Revolution, Bolshevism was declared enemy number one insofar as "British Interests" were concerned.

This country could present M16, whose subversive activities have cost many Soviet citizens their lives, with quite an account to settle, including the masterminding and preparation of counterrevolutionary plots in the young Soviet republic, involvement in direct acts of sabotage against it, and financial support for White émigré centres abroad.

After the war M16 assumed supervision of the "People's Labour Alliance" and trained personnel for this White Guard terrorist organization. M16's service record has also included planning an anti-government assault landing in socialist Albania and reactionary mutinies in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The special Information Research Department has been set up at the British Foreign Office. Headed for a long time by John Rennie, who was later put in charge of M16, it should rather have been called a disinformation department. How does it work?

Two correspondents from two influential British newspapers, Brian Crozier of *The Times* and David Floyd of *The Daily Telegraph*, were invited one day to the Foreign Office. They were confidentially relayed information "from reliable sources" about growing Soviet military potential in the Indian Ocean. The newsmen were handed a prepared document asserting that "Soviet policy in the Indian Ocean, as well as elsewhere, seeks to enhance Soviet influence at the expense of Western interests." It also

painstakingly enumerated Soviet warships that were allegedly either already in the area or about to be moved there.

The Observer correspondent Colin Legum recalled that "the favourite official line was to discredit any militant anti-colonial leader as a Communist. We were fed confidential reports from M16 proving the Moscow links with all these colonial agitators."

Together with the CIA, M16 has acted against the sovereign nations of Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

...A member of the British embassy staff in Islamabad was so active forming contacts with dushman groups operating from Pakistan that hardly anyone had any doubts as to his departmental affiliation. After returning to London, he took up a post at the cabinet's secretariat. This gave grounds for the London-based newspaper Independent to surmise that the M16 officer was a member of the Cabinet Joint Intelligence Committee, which is involved in shaping foreign policy.

His activities in the corridors of power obviously made for brisker contacts between London officials and the Islamic Party of Afghanistan operating from Pakistan. It was then at any rate that the leader of that party, Yunus Khalis, came to London and was even received at the Foreign Office. Prior to that, in March last year, Margaret Thatcher had "honoured" Khalis' boss, Abdul Khaq, by entertaining him at her official residence at Number 10, Downing Street.

The step-up in contacts with dushmans led in April last year to Blowpipe surface-to-air missiles being supplied by Britain to groups united under the banner of the Islamic Party. These missiles are now being used to shoot down civilian planes.

Recent Irangate hearings in U.S. Congress have revealed that the contras, too, have been buying British Blowpipes through their patrons at Langley. But British intelligence hasn't been sitting on its hands either. The British press has reported that the contras' instructors include "specialists" from the British Isles. We attempted to find out the details. We were able to get through by telephone to a minor figure in an operation to send British mercenaries to Central America, and got his consent for an interview. But then the contact was lost.... Subsequent attempts to track him have been of no avail.

Several years ago we became interested in a private firm called KMS Ltd based on the island of Jersey in the English Channel. We had reason to believe that the firm was a go-between in Britain-contra operations. But the only thing we

were able to ascertain was a close connection between KMS Ltd and Whitehall. We were given quickly to understand that British authorities were, to put it mildly, not too happy about our curiosity. Our guess then was that the private firm was serving as a front for M16.

Only two years after that the American newspaper the Wall-Street Journal published a report partially corroborating our conjecture. Correspondent David Rogers ran into data about KMS Ltd's aid to the Nicaraguan contras in the archives of the National Security Council. One of the firm's managers, David Walker, who had served with crack commando forces (obviously the SAS), was mentioned in reports connected with the notorious American Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North!

It has transpired that since its foundation in 1977 Walker's "firm" has engaged in covert military training programmes in Oman and Sri Lanka. Its services have at times also been used by the Sultan of Brunei, as Brunei is one of the contras' creditors. Other material testifies that the Saudis have resorted to the mediation of a "British military veteran in Jordan."

British secret services spy on Ireland.

Officially, M16 has always pleaded the need to counter "Northern Irish terrorists" as the pretext for its presence in Ireland. However, it has become known that British spies have also been taking an interest in such matters as Ireland's neutrality, Dublin's position on the more important international problems, and the possibility of influencing both. As for Ulster, the only remaining British colony, Britons do not conceal that it is the best training ground for M16 "operatives" whose careers will be connected with subversion and sabotage.

A scandal erupted in the early 1980s when it came to light that M16 agents posing as diplomats and correspondents for British newspapers had spied on the Irish government and attempted to recruit its representatives. The key figures in the scandal included Sir Christopher Ewart Biggs, Britain's ambassador to Ireland, and Sir Howard Smith, later to head M15. Smith was succeeded in Dublin by James Allen, who was later knighted (presumably for his "exploits in Ireland") and made Supreme Commissioner in Mauritius. David Holden, whose cover job was representing *The Sunday Times* in Dublin, was in fact a high-ranking M16 officer.

**MIKHAIL BOGDANOV and
YURI KUDIMOV**

A time to gather stones

ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV has begun his tour of duty as Northern Europe correspondent for New Times. Here is his report from Stockholm.

The first thing that strikes you in Stockholm is the abundance of greenery, cliffs, water and - prohibitions. Signs forbid driving, parking, walking, eating ice-cream. This is not to everybody's liking, judging from the fact that a notice near one such sign in a central park reads: "Throwing stones at this sign is strictly forbidden!" However, much to the chagrin and irritation of the law-abiding Swedes, the bans have recently been broken more and more frequently.

After the shots in Sveavägen Street

Sveavägen, the capital's normally traffic-choked main street, has seen many a royal procession entering the city. It was in Sveavägen Street that Olof Palme and his wife Lisbet were hit by an assassin's bullets as they were returning home from a cinema late at night on February 28. The Swedes feel that the death of the outstanding political leader marked a watershed in public consciousness.

The nation learned with a shudder not only of the murder and the inability of the police to find the criminal, but of the previously unknown extremist groups and organizations revealed during the course of the investigation. Among them were the European Working Party and the Swedish Party, which take a racist stand and have links with fascist groups abroad. Some

police officers and civil servants have also proved to be right-wing extremists.

The spate of scandalous revelations that followed the assassination shook the traditional Swedish sense of "moras superiority." A row has developed over the illegal export of military equipment and hardware by the Bofors enterprises. By fiddling customs documents and remitting millions in bribe money to secret accounts in Switzerland, the arms concern is selling anti-aircraft missiles, explosives and howitzers capable of firing nuclear shells at actual or potential participants in conflicts in the Third World. Other companies too are anxious to benefit from lucrative arms exports.

Revelations of corruption in high places have become more frequent. Ministers and influential bureaucrats, businessmen and trade union leaders are resigning one after another after being found guilty of tax evasion, using public money for personal needs, appropriating undeserved titles and machinations involving apartments.

A wave of violence and hooliganism is sweeping the country. Until recently a comparatively calm kingdom, Sweden registered a 50 per cent increase in grave injuries caused by criminals in the first half of 1987. In mid-August, the centre of Stockholm was taken over by young people on the rampage for several nights smashing shop windows and overturning police cars. The main connecting station on the Stockholm underground has become the hangout of skin-headed, leather-jacketed rowdies. Drugs, drunkenness, and dubious religious sects are becoming part of daily life.

Are these signs of the decay of the Swedish model of social development or symptoms of a more serious disease?

Change of guard

Before we try to answer that question let us walk further along Sveavägen, which



means "The Swedish Way." No. 68 is the headquarters of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden.

"Palme's death meant a great loss for the Social Democrats and it couldn't have come at a worse time," says Connu Fredriksson, assistant secretary for international affairs. "In the 1980s the growing conservative trends in Western Europe and in Sweden have confronted our party with the challenge of proving that the Social Democratic solution to economic and social problems is effective and meets the interests of the broad public. The party programme adopted six years ago and designed to put an end to the crisis was beginning to bear fruit when we lost our leader.

"It can be said with no undue modesty that the Social Democrats have solved the leadership problem by promoting Ingvar Carlsson to chairmanship of the party and the premiership. Without trying to copy Palme's style, Carlsson has solved the main problems: he has ensured calm collective bargaining between the unions and the employers, approval for a five-year interparty agreement on defence expenditure and the implementation of the cabinet's economic plans."

It is true that Carlsson has been able to achieve a great deal. His main strength is close working contacts with the leaders of all the parties in the Riksdag. While Palme often provoked parliament's displeasure (not infrequently by his behaviour), the new leader is getting along well both with veteran MP Lars Werner who heads the Left Party (Communists) and Carl Bildt, the young conservative leader.

As a true reformist, Carlsson avoids bitter ideological debates preferring, in the words of observer Erik Asard, "open and unprejudiced dialogue in which the other side also gets a hearing." He has, as they say in Sweden, "long antennae," constantly monitoring the political situation. His "antennae" are always tuned to



Alexander Polyukhov was born in the city of Saratov, Russian Federation, in 1952. A graduate of the Moscow Finance Institute [department of international economic relations]. Married, with two children. Worked in the Progress publishing house, in the Novosti Press Agency, as a correspondent of Novosti in Denmark.

fresh ideas. The party could hardly have chosen a more consistent advocate of a "mixed economy" and the "Swedish model" to succeed Palme. While he seldom uses the term "socialism," he believes in a "controlled" capitalist market. His idea of social justice is "not equal, but sufficient slices of the cake for everyone."

On political and social rights, the Prime Minister is not thinking in terms of radical change, although four years ago he declared that the government had failed "to offer people reasonable influence and reasonable responsibility." As president of the Social Democratic Youth League in the 1960s, he was ready to end the monarchy. Today, he is often to be seen smiling in the company of King Carl XVI Gustaf.

Unlike Palme, Ingvar Carlsson has so far failed to make a mark as an international personality. This is not to say that he is passive or lacks interest in world affairs. He is actively involved in the country's foreign policy, which remains committed to achieving progress in disarmament, promoting peace in Europe and other regions, the struggle against apartheid and racism, and the support of national liberation movements. Sweden is playing a conspicuous role in the Group of Six, which has become a spokesman for the desire of peoples in different continents for peace and disarmament. Carlsson assigns high priority to stable relations with the great powers.

Carlsson's line of normalizing relations with the U.S.A., which had long been cool as Sweden was critical of Washington's behaviour in Vietnam and Central America, does not enjoy universal approval in the country. "Reconciliation" has cost major concessions to the Swedes. The biggest source of discontent is the decree on the control of Swedish reexports of high-technology goods, which virtually places their sale to the socialist countries under U.S. control. The major Swedish paper Dagens Nyheter considers this decree to be an act of "national humiliation" and of "grovelling" before the U.S.

In return Washington has agreed to lift a 50 per cent customs duty on military material and weapon exports from Sweden to the U.S. The possibility of getting a share of the Pentagon's huge military spending does not get gastric juices running in the Bofors boardroom alone: Volvo wants to sell trucks, Ericsson, radio electronics gear and Fjällräven tents and sleeping bags.

The "Japan" of Scandinavia

Carlsson's government is in general very considerate of big business. He claims the credit for a marked improvement in the country's economic position:

the Gross National Product (GNP) is expected to grow by an estimated 2.1 per cent this year, trade to register a surplus of more than 30,000 million crowns, inflation to fall to a mere 3.7 per cent and unemployment to 2.6 per cent. Behind these figures is a well-thought-out cabinet policy, whose architect is Finance Minister Kjell-Olof Feldt.

I was present at a press conference to mark the merger of two electronics giants of the Western world: the Swedish ASEA and the Swiss Brown Boveri. With an annual turnover of 100,000 million crowns and a work force of 160,000 people, the new concern will be a major monopoly in the field. The merger was prepared in total secrecy and the Swedish government has yet to endorse it. "I think we'll get government backing," the director of the new electronics colossus, Percy Barnevik, told the press conference. "A different outcome would have been unnatural."

Swedish authorities have never yet forbidden such deals, and they favour the export of capital. Last year the country's corporations invested 24.2 billion crowns abroad. Meanwhile, foreign interests have so far failed to gain a real foothold in Sweden. The Swedes have resorted to ingenious financial and administrative restrictions to keep foreign interests out of the national market. This has led the British Economist to draw a parallel between Sweden and Japan. The established division of the Swedish economy into "spheres" enables a handful of leading shareholders to control entire groups of corporations. Peter Wallenberg, a hereditary banker, heads a "sphere" including Alfa-Laval, ASEA, Atlas Copco, Electrolux, Ericsson, Saab-Scania, and Volvo's energetic boss, Per Gyllenhammar, heads a "sphere" comprising Pharmacia, Euroc, Sandvik, OPUS, Skanska and, of course, Volvo.

Between 70 and 95 per cent of the products of these spearhead Swedish industries goes for export, more than half of it plant and machinery. The country's foreign trade relies increasingly heavily on machine building as old industries die. Ship building (once the second biggest in the world) has ceased to exist and steel and textile production is tapering off. New enterprises in industries that set the pace in science and technology are slow to appear. Although Sweden spends as large a part of its GNP on research and development as the F.R.G. and Japan, only 7 per cent of the work force is employed in high-technology industries.

Winners are not judged!

Ordinary Swedes have benefited greatly from the Social Democratic model of development. The people are well-fed and well-clothed, well-educated and

healthy, they have high-paid jobs and enjoy considerable social benefits. A private car, a yacht or a "stuga" (country-cottage) are not regarded as luxury items. It is revealing that the average life expectancy is 74 years for men and 80 for women, that infant mortality is 5.9 per 1,000 newborn (a record bettered only by Japan and Iceland).

Nature is unspoilt (in Stockholm you can catch a salmon and see hare in the park), opportunities for sport are excellent (even government liquor shops have posters inviting customers to take part in the Stockholm marathon) and democratic rights are extensive (a child can lodge an official complaint for being slapped by a parent and an adult can bring a law suit against the government). Why is it, then, that in spite of all these pluses, people are worried, displeased and doubtful about the validity of the "Swedish way"?

"I think the Swedish people have the best government in the world," says economist Dan Andersson. "But the Social Democratic movement is unlikely to be content with marking time. It is not enough to pursue a policy of preserving competitiveness and employment, and administering a capitalist economy to finance the welfare state. It is high time we made the economy more democratic."

The opinion of this young but already well-known scientist is shared by representatives of trade unions, women's and youth organizations and various popular movements. Aftonbladet, a paper close to the Social Democrats, has carried a series of articles under the common heading "Harvest-Time." They state candidly that the attitude of the trade union movement to capitalism has been based on pragmatism and not on class struggle. The slogan of "abolishing capitalism" has never been used in practice. The paper stresses that private individuals own a mere 19 per cent of the shares circulating on the stock exchange, while pension funds and wage workers' funds account for 71 per cent. This would seem to suggest that the economy is run by public organizations. Yet while this may be formally true, the real economic power rests in the hands of the capitalists. That is why the focus of public attention is gradually shifting to the question of how much say the workers really have in the country's social and economic life. For a long time the Social Democrats have studiously avoided the issue by breaking it up into elements and treating them as technical matters. Today, a growing section of the Social Democratic constituency is demanding a clear answer to the question, who is running the country?

The economy is the main but not the only area of concern. People want to have the right not only to be represented on the



For Ingvar Carlsson (left), Prime Minister of Sweden, canoeing is not just exercise but also his contribution to the campaign for the purity of the environment.

Photo from the newspaper Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)

boards of the corporations that employ them, but to have a chance to change their working conditions. They are anxious to do away with hard, monotonous, stultifying work, dangerous strains and the arbitrary distribution of functions in industry. Parents are unhappy about the state of preschool childcare, which is financed from the taxes they pay, and demanding a say in the running of childcare facilities. Senior school students are seeking reasonable freedom of choice in planning their education at school and university. These are just some of the issues that are engaging the attention of every social group.

The struggle for minds and votes

Popular sentiments have always been thoroughly analyzed and taken into account by Sweden's political groups. The People's Party (PP) campaigns on the issues of tax cuts, protection of the young and the aged and individual freedoms. The Centre Party (CP) advocates the early scrapping of nuclear power stations and a transition to alternative sources of energy, and decentralization of the economy and administrative structures. The environmentalist party advocates a total revision of the concept of the welfare state, insisting that less emphasis should be laid on the material side and social benefits should be increased.

Carl Bildt, who thinks of himself as leader of the bourgeois opposition, speaks on behalf of the Moderate Party and claims that the Social Democratic approach to the whole package of Sweden's future problems is "reactionary." Although he admits that the

opposition has yet to come up with its own platform, the conservative leader intends to seek closer cooperation with the PP and CP to be able not only to criticize the Social Democrats but to propose a "capitalist alternative" the following year.

On the whole, the present political situation in the country is fraught with major changes in the balance of political forces. The character of these changes would depend on the ability or inability of each party to detect the changing accents in public opinion and provide a political answer to them. The situation may be further complicated by the intrusion of new protagonists into the struggle of the main political groupings - the Social Democrats together with the Left Party (Communists) which control 47 per cent of the electorate and the trio of capitalist parties - Conservatives, the People's Party and the Centre Party - (about 45 per cent of the vote). These are the new Pensioners' Party, the extremist Swedish Party, and the Greens. The latter have 8-9 per cent of the vote which gives them hopes of winning seats in parliament at next year's elections.

How is the situation seen at 68, Sveavägen St? The Social Democratic Congress which begins on September 19 will provide the answer. "All told, 896 draft resolutions running to 3,000 pages, have been prepared," says party secretary Bo Toresson. "The 1.2 million rank-and-file members have elected 350 delegates. The Congress will determine Sweden's development until the end of the 1990s."

Most observers agree that the Congress will play a key role, but differ in their projections of what course the Social

Democrats will choose. The chief result of the discussions - the document "Democracy for the Society of the Future" - is to accomplish a nearly impossible task. It has to combine pragmatic party leadership, which is chary of setting clear-cut ideological goals, and the social and political militancy of the Social Democratic activists who want the priorities in the struggle for greater democracy to be formulated more clearly.

A serious complication in the work of the Congress will be the proposal to abolish the collective membership of the unions in the Social Democratic Party. This has long been a target for attacks by the bourgeois parties. Collective membership is the backbone of the Social Democratic Party's structure, and a new form of cooperation between the party and the unions will not be easy to find.

The Social Democratic leadership is going to tackle these and many other problems by making broader individual and collective participation of citizens in running the country the core idea of their "Democracy of the Future." Among other things, the process of decision making is to be brought closer to the sectors of the population concerned, people are to have a say in the day-to-day work of communal authorities, the number of people involved in decisions on public matters is to be increased, young people and women are to be given more say in political life, encouragement and support are to be given to various public movements and their cooperation with administrative bodies is to be increased. It is also planned to develop legislation on labour and the unions, and to streamline the regulation of the country's economic life. However, the Social Democratic leadership tends to be vague on the burning issue of who is going to run the economy at national and local level.

More likely than not, the Social Democratic leadership will try to continue its present policy, adjusting it to changing circumstances. It is not the aim of the Congress document to clarify the party's ideological position: it plans to adopt a new political programme at the next congress, which will mark its centenary. At the moment, Carlsson and his colleagues are setting themselves a more modest task: to work out a platform that will win the parliamentary elections in a year's time. Those who are charting the "Swedish path" are aware of the need for profound change but hope it can wait for the time being.

"Christian wisdom says there is a time to cast away stones and a time to gather stones together," says Connu Fredriksson in conclusion. "At present we are mostly gathering stones."

ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV

Stockholm

OBSERVER'S VIEW

We would rather be spared such lessons

The Mathias Rust trial is over. Having weighed all the circumstances and the possible punishment (which could be as much as ten years in prison), the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. has declared Rust guilty on all counts: illegal violation of the frontier, violation of the rules of international aviation, and deliberate hooliganism, and sentenced him to a term of four years.

However, the "Rust case" has more than just a legal dimension. Nothing was further from Moscow's mind than to try to "impose retribution at any cost" or "punish for punishment's sake." If that were the case the punishment would have been more severe.

The nineteen-year-old F.R.G. citizen has unwittingly raised many questions. In our view, the main question has to do with the motives for and political consequences of the flight. The motive advanced by the accused, namely that he was accomplishing a "peace mission," did not stand up to criticism at the trial. Why should a "peace mission" involve violating the border, provoking a possible incident and risking one's own and other people's lives? He could have acted otherwise. Only a few weeks after the incident we saw how such a mission could be accomplished when the former U.S. ambassador to the U.S.S.R. Thomas Watson flew into our country in a sports plane. "If I had flown in according to the rules, I couldn't have attracted attention," said Rust, by way of justifying himself during the trial. Watson's flight disproved that childish explanation: his air hop from the U.S.A. got a lot of publicity in this country and abroad.

The fact that we continue to discuss Rust's motives need not be seen as a criticism of the trial. Its opportunities were limited, for it could only pass authoritative judgement on the events on the territory within Soviet jurisdiction. But what about the territory outside its jurisdiction? The most it could do was to study the reports of the foreign press

writing about various motives and certain political considerations connected with the flight. But that was all.

Some might say that this is further proof that Russians are given to mistrust. But I have yet to be convinced that there are no grounds for lack of trust. The state prosecutor said at the trial that Rust personally had no hostile intentions with regard to our country. Alas, the subjective and the objective do not always coincide. Even a well-intentioned person can create an ill-intentioned situation, especially if another party is interested in it.

One thing is clear: the knowledge that the happiness of more than 40 years of peace in Europe and normal relations between states should not be put at risk either deliberately or without malice or even with subjectively good intentions. European peace needs stability, and this does not apply only to diplomats and generals. Paradoxically, Rust's flight has demonstrated that the fate of peace and international relations, not least mutual trust and understanding among peoples, are in the hands of **everyone**, in the hands of ordinary and even apolitical people. It occurred to me to start with that Rust should be thanked for teaching us such a vivid lesson. But we would rather be spared such lessons.

LEV BEZYMENSKY

OUTSIDE TESTIMONY

Publication from the

West German magazine Elan

Retired Colonel Vogel, now Secretary of the private Circle of Friends of the Air Force, has an office at the Bundeswehr's Wahn air base near Cologne. The office, which has nothing to do with the air base, may have been the place where the Moscow flight of amateur pilot Mathias Rust was planned, writes the magazine Elan in its September issue.

President of the Friends of the Air Force is publisher Günter Neufang, who produces Aerokurier, the official organ of the German Air Club, of which Mathias Rust is a member. The editor-in-

chief of Aerokurier is Rolf Dörpinghaus, who also edits the militarist Friends of the Air Force information sheet. Friends of the Air Force is well known at the German Air Club's headquarters in Frankfurt on the Main. The two bodies cooperate and exchange information.

The Friends of the Air Force information sheet describes one of the "flying camps" where young people are trained for service in the Bundeswehr: after detailed briefings on the ground each participant has a chance to make five practice flights in a Cessna 152.

The Friends of the Air Force would have

been interested in an enterprise such as Rust's flight.

The organization's annual meeting at Bonn's House of Air and Space Travel on December 3, 1986, was attended by about 40 of its 280 members (of these 80 are officers in active service).

The meeting was attended by people with experience of aggressive warfare, including retired Lieutenant General Werner Panitzki who worked with war criminal Goering and served in the Nazi air force. As an officer with the General Staff, he organized the ruthless air raids on English cities in 1942-43.

The meeting of the Friends of the Air Force decided to set up a "strategic council" under the chairmanship of four-star General Steinhof, one of the "elite" fighter pilots of the Nazi Wehrmacht. In 1944 Hitler decorated him with a Knight's Cross With Oak Leaves and Swords for his 167 air victories. After the war he was an Air Force inspector in the Bundeswehr, Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, and President of the observation council of the military-industrial concern Dornier (he is still a consultant to the concern). Also on the Council is Günther Rall, who once commanded Hitler's crack air squadrons. These people have

Secret detachment

Sakura

The story began in October of last year when noises and strange signals emitted by his telephone receiver alerted Yasuo Ogata, head of the international affairs bureau of the Japan Communist Party. At his request, specialists from the telephone corporation checked the line and discovered that it had been diverted to apartment 206 in the house next door. The leaders of the JCP turned to the police when the tenants of the flat refused to admit the representatives of the company entitled to check on the legality

of using the line. The police refused to look into the matter.

On November 29, 1986, the JCP representatives lodged a complaint with the prosecutor. On December 1, 1986, the prosecutor's office started its investigation. But time had been lost. When the prosecutor entered the mysterious flat 206, it was empty.

"The prosecutor said that he would come at 1 p.m.," explained lawyer Rejun Kobayashi, representing the interests of Yasuo Ogata. "However, in the course of the morning, people with boxes and suitcases appeared in flat 206. They were removing evidence. Leaving the flat, they took away several boxes which, we presume, contained bugging equipment."

Who was the owner of flat 206? It had been let to a 22-year-old worker from the town of Kawasaki. The investigation established that he was a stooge. Who had been using the flat? Five policemen. One of them cannot now give evidence

as he "died suddenly of a liver complaint...."

The investigation revealed that the bugging had been carried out by members of the public security section of the National Police Agency. The aim was to collect information about the activities of one of the country's leading opposition parties. It was not the first time that telephone conversations conducted by the JCP leaders were found to have been tapped. Proof and evidence are ample. But the procurator's office (to say nothing of the police) is not displaying excessive zeal.

"We have discovered that a hitherto unknown secret department operates within the framework of the public security sections. It is engaged in telephone tapping and the surveillance of political figures, its agents enter the homes and offices of opposition leaders. According to our information, the executives in this department have been trained in the FBI. Before the war, there was an intelligence training centre in Tokyo, the Nakano

school. Now its premises and equipment are used by the National Police Academy. A special detachment called Sakura has been set up under the supervision of the academy. It is a task force trained to fight Communists. Sakura executives instructed their subordinates to tap Ogata's telephone conversations and install the equipment. The procurator's office is not going to bring the policemen to book. The police are bringing pressure to bear on it to hush up the scandal. The prosecutor's office has decided not to bring any charges or go to court. It has been admitted that two people in five were engaged in illegal activities, but this was described as "initiative stemming from excessive zeal in the course of their duties." Neither the court nor the prosecutor's office wish it to be made public that there are police in Japan whose job it is to harass dissidents.

VLADIMIR OVSYANNIKOV
our own correspondent
Tokyo



Monika Rust thanks her son's defence counsel.

Photo by A. Steshanov

suggested that "it would be interesting to check how deep a low-flying plane disguised as a civilian one can penetrate into Soviet air space."

The Circle of Friends of the Air Force is
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quite capable of staging an enterprise such as Rust's flight.

There is also an intelligence-gathering centre at the Wahn air base. It receives all

the secret information on air defence centres in "enemy territory."

The Circle of Friends of the Air Force has the money to finance enterprises such as Rust's flight.

The arms manufacturing concerns Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Dornier finance the Friends of the Air Force information sheet which carries their advertisements. Dr Spiegel, treasurer of the Friends of the Air Force, works for Rohde und Schwarz which manufactures electronic warfare equipment. The financial deals of the Friends of the Air Force pass through the firm's computers.

All this is merely circumstantial evidence. Positive proof would require the information possessed by the secret services, or the financial resources at the disposal of major illustrated magazines. We have neither.

But we have managed to learn that some air force officers, serving or retired, in the Cologne-Bonn area are trying, at their own peril, to engage in world politics. They would have had no difficulty in using a young amateur pilot. The Defence Ministry looks on dispassionately at these provocative goings-on in the Bundeswehr's territory.

THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

THE TRIUMPH IN VAIN.
TWO MORE "ANTI-HEROES"
WE HAD NOT ONLY ENEMIES
"BLAME IS LAID AT THE
DOOR OF THE BOURGEOISIE"

How did the enemies of the October Revolution react to the news of the attempt on Lenin's life? In his book "October 1917 and France," the prominent leader of the French and international working-class movement Jacques Duclos made an interesting study of the newspaper headlines and initial reports in the press of those days.

Le Matin, September 1, 1918:
"The Bolsheviks are doomed. Attempt on Lenin's life. Maximalist-dictator wounded in Moscow despite all precautionary measures."

London, August 31. A Russian wireless message reports that an attempt to assassinate Lenin was made in Moscow on August 30. Lenin was wounded. No additional details are needed to conclude that the blow was delivered by the Socialist-Revolutionaries."

Le Matin, September 2:
"Good news. Lenin believed dead. Decapitated Bolshevik regime apparently in its death throes."

Le Matin, September 3
"The Lenin assassination attempt. Dictator said to be out of danger... "It is reported from Petrograd that following the attempt on the

life of Lenin and the assassination of Uritsky many searches were made in the city."

After an interval lasting until September 14, the newspaper continued its fabrications:

"Struggle against Bolsheviks. Counterrevolutionaries in control of situation in Petrograd. French General Janin takes over command of the Czechoslovaks."

In its turn, the newspaper Le Temps carried this statement:

"The allies are going to Russia not to carry out a political operation. They have gone there - and our American allies will endorse this - as friends, ready to render assistance."

The hypocrisy and cynicism of these lines is plain to see. How characteristic the jubilation of the bourgeois press over the assassination attempt, and how well informed it was as to who had "delivered the blow." In those days one could only guess as to the source of such information. In time, however, the full truth was revealed.

The roots of the conspiracy

The first thing that was revealed was that the assassination attempt was not carried out by Kaplan alone. Then it was

established that the SR leaders' denial of any complicity in the attempt was a lie; and finally, that despite their avowed independence and incorruptibility, the SR leaders had been in contact with the French military mission. One member of the SR Central Committee, Timofeyev, had actually accepted money from the mission. Moreover, when sabotage acts were plotted, French agents supplied the hitmen with explosives. The Davydov group contacted these agents. The indictment in the case of the SR Party stated:

"Davydov, as direct head of the sabotage group, testified that Gleb (member of the group. - Ed.) told him he had been put in touch with the French mission by the Bureau of the Central Committee. Davydov and Gleb met with two French agents."

One of the Frenchmen was called Henri. Comparing the data in this case with that in the Lockhart case, the investigators had little difficulty in establishing that this Henri and the Genrikh Verthimon who figured in the Lockhart case were one and the same person. The group, headed by Verthimon, according to the documents in the case, engaged in

"wrecking railways and working on plans for the demolition of bridges around Petrograd."

Several other contacts came to light, for example, the meetings between Timofeyev and Verthimon.

According to the testimony of a member of the French mission, the French consulate in Moscow had been instructed by Ambassador Joseph Noulens to maintain contact with all anti-Soviet political groups. French mission members Erih and Dumas kept in touch with the

TWO ASPECTS OFFICIAL:

"Any idea that we favour a counterrevolution is a profound mistake."

Declaration of British and French governments, December 1917.

"The United States government will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty in her own affairs and full restoration to her great role in the life of Europe and the modern world."

President Wilson's message. March 1918.

For the previous articles see Nos. 33, 34, 36.

SRs, and the SR "military centre" received money from Henri Albert Niessel, the head of the French military mission.

The Western missions in Soviet Russia knew about the intention of Socialist-Revolutionaries to carry out individual terror. As found out by the investigation working on the case of Rikhter, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, he assumed the preparations for the assassination of Lenin, "ensuring, through secret contacts, the support of the French mission."

SR Central Committee member Timofeyev actually signed a formal agreement with Noulens on material and military support. The idea behind such support was explained by French General Lavergne thus: with the SRs engaging in terrorism from below, the Bolsheviks retaliating from above, the Entente would be the gainer.

The attempt on the life of Lenin on August 30, 1918, was not the end of the series of terroristic acts carried out by the counterrevolution. The list includes the bomb outrage in Leontyevsky Street in September 1919 in which leaders of the Moscow organization of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) perished; numerous attacks on banks, savings banks and warehouses, and the murder of Communists. Nor did terrorists abandon their plans to make another attempt on Lenin's life. For instance, in 1922 Boris Savinkov, who had fled abroad, sent from Poland a Lieutenant Colonel Svezhevsky with the assignment to assassinate Lenin.

When Svezhevsky was arrested, he confessed he had been preparing for the assassination but failed to carry it out "because it is difficult to get into the Kremlin, and it was absolutely impossible to keep watch on Lenin's movements from the Kremlin."

Many years later, in 1935, the background to the first assassination became clear: it was organized early in 1918 in Petrograd by five former officers of



Anti-heroes of those years: Sidney Reilly and Robert Bruce Lockhart (the latter's photo is on the entry visa).

the tsarist army. Losing their nerve during the meeting, they fired at the automobile in which Lenin was.

Who was George Hill?

Sometimes connections between phenomena are instantly discernible. Sometimes it takes years. There was a good 50 years between those troublous Moscow days in 1918 and the publication of a study by the British writer Anthony Cave Brown of American strategic intelligence activities during World War II. There might seem to be no connection whatever between the two. Nevertheless, there is.

Among other things, Brown writes that American and British intelligence had their official representatives in Moscow during the war. The Americans were represented by John Haskell, the British, by Brigadier George Hill, of whom Brown casually observes that "Hill...had been one of those British secret service men mixed up in an attempt to

assassinate Lenin, a conspiracy that had very nearly succeeded."

How mixed up? Hill's name did not figure in the documents in the Lockhart trial. There was mention of one Curnber Higgs who was found "not guilty." But let us dig a little deeper.

Born in the family of an English businessman, George Hill had been in Russia with his parents as a child, and spoke Russian fluently. Hence it is not surprising that as a young man employed at the British War Office intelligence department he was sent to Russia with the British military mission. Here he was in his element - he was awarded the Order of St. Vladimir, Third Class, the Order of St. Anna, Second Class, and the Order of St. Stanislaw, Second Class. After the October Revolution, he moved to Moscow where he resumed his intelligence activities. In his memoirs, published in 1932, Hill recalls:

"I was seeing Reilly daily, and he kept me informed of what he was doing and of his plans for a coup d'état against the Bolsheviks. Reilly's plan was bold and masterfully conceived, its purpose being no less than to have the whole of the Bolshevik Executive Committee - inclu-

OF THEIR POLICY UNOFFICIAL:

"The position of the United States government is predicated upon the possibility of intervention in Siberia.

Secretary of State Robert Lansing. April 1918.

"The point to be decided is how best to defeat the Bolsheviks."

Colonel House, Wilson's aide. February 1919.

A logical question. Let us try to answer it. Francis himself never got to Moscow, for the simple reason that he chose Volgograd for his residence. In March 1918, "in protest" against the Brest peace, all the ambassadors left Petrograd not for Moscow, but for a location closer to the British troops in Murmansk, to await the arrival of American forces.

"I think time is fast approaching for allied intervention and the allies should be prepared to act promptly."

"immediately to take Petrograd and Moscow by sending sufficient troops therefore to Murmansk and Archangel without delay; 50,000 would serve, but 100,000 would be ample."

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All this should be reminded today to those who are wont to describe the U.S. short of the "benefactor" of revolutionary Russia, as, for instance, was done by an American speaker at the recent Soviet-American meeting at Chautauqua.

While Francis was busy sending wires from Vologda, his people in Moscow stepped up their activity. In particular, the U.S. Consul General Maddin Summers and his aide and subsequently his successor DeWitt Clinton Poole, another hero (or rather, anti-hero) of our story.

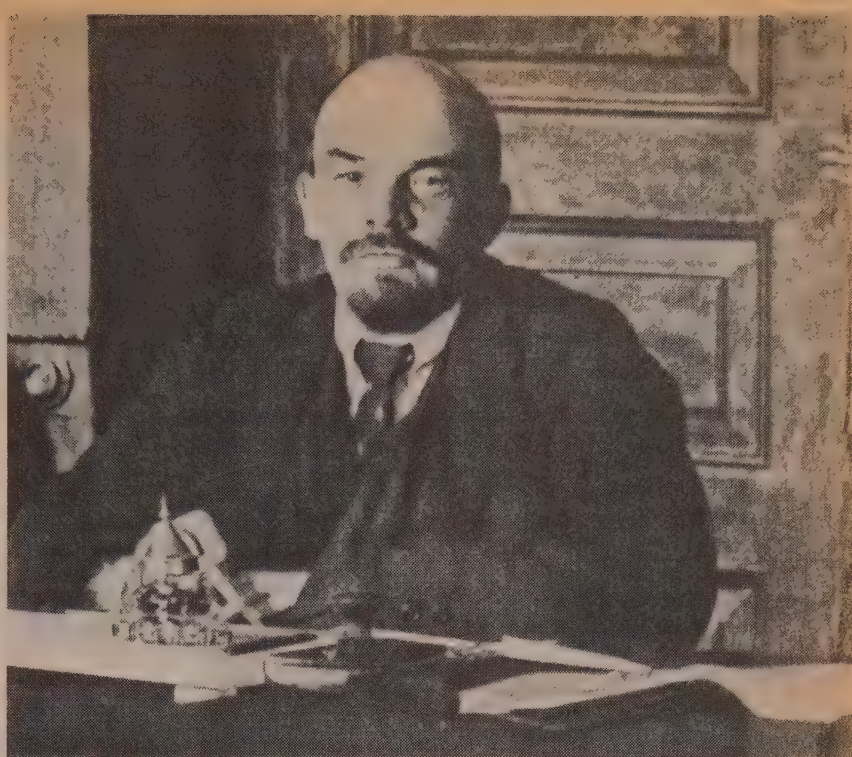
Poole was a large-scale operator. When he came to Moscow in July 1917, he already had behind him a record of work in Berlin, Paris and Washington. Before long he was appointed special assistant to the U.S. ambassador in Russia, and in November 1918, chargé d'affaires.

Poole's activities were not confined to Moscow. In December he spent some time on the Don with Kaledin, whose "volunteer army," he reported to Washington, "will be a mobile police force." Poole was of the opinion, Summers said, "that the government of the United States and the allies should immediately lend this nucleus all possible moral and material support."

In March 1918, the Cheka exposed an underground organization in Moscow which had engaged in recruiting and dispatching former army officers to the Don to serve with Kaledin and Kornilov. A major role in this organization was played by an American businessman named Barry. On the latter's arrest, the U.S. Consulate General came to his defence and officially vouched for him. Barry was released pending trial and disappeared without trace. But his guilt was established at the trial and he was sentenced to death in absentia. At the same time the court handed down the following special finding on the activity of DeWitt Poole:

"The Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal, having considered the failure of as high-ranking an institution of the United States as its Consulate General to honour its guarantee, goes on record that the North American Consulate in Moscow, represented by Poole and Lehrs, is guilty of sheltering the criminal Barry, helping him to escape, and betraying the trust of the workers' and peasants' government in Russia, and can be called to account only by the people of America."

In general there were every grounds for prosecuting Poole for his part in the 1918 plot. Back in May he had informed Washington of the existence of a group working to "form a government which would oust the Bolsheviks." Later he formed close connections with Savinkov, and, lastly, it was in his office that the meeting was held on August 25, 1918, which defined the terrorist objectives of the counterrevolutionaries.



V.I. Lenin on October 17, 1918. The meeting of the Council of People's Commissars over which he presided after his recovery.

As for the American clandestine agents in Moscow, one of their leaders, Xenophon Kalamatiano, testified that **"our organization came into being in April this year (1918 - Ed.). The need and usefulness of such an organization I discussed with Mr Sommers (Summers - Ed.), North American General Consul in Russia."**

On returning to the United States, Poole was promoted to the post of Chief of the Russian Affairs Division of the State Department and up to 1930 was in diplomatic service. During World War II he headed a department of the Office of Strategic Services, the immediate predecessor of the CIA.

There were not only enemies...

The meeting in Poole's office had one result that was unexpected for the conspirators. On September 24, 1918, Izvestia published a sensational document - a letter from René Marchand, a journalist and member of the French mission, addressed to none other than the President of the French Republic, Raymond Poincaré. It had been made available to the newspaper by the Cheka (it was almost fully contained also in the report of Iakov Peters), inasmuch as it shed light on the conspiratorial activity of the Entente powers.

"Mr President," Marchand wrote, "considering your kindness to me and your request that I keep you informed from time to time of the situation in Russia, I have the honour to forward you a copy of a letter I sent recently to M. Albert Thomas (a French socialist leader. - Ed.) which touches primarily upon the question of allied intervention."

Marchand went on to speak of his own political position:

"I consider myself one of those who have fought Bolshevism out of deep conviction."

It was precisely for this reason that he had participated in the activity of the French mission, assuming that this activity was aimed chiefly against Kaiser Germany and designed to prevent Russia's withdrawal from the war. But as time went on, Marchand wrote, it became ever clearer to him that something altogether different was in question (we cite from Peters' report):

"I had occasion recently to attend an official meeting at which I learned, most unexpectedly for me, of tremendous, secret and, to my mind, extremely dangerous activity running counter to everything I was committed to until now. I refer to a closed meeting held in the United States' Consulate General on August 23 or 24, if I am not mistaken. The exact date is not important. The U.S. Consul General M. Poole and our Consul

General were present. Also present were allied agents whose names I do not remember, one of whom I had never met before."

What shocked Marchand? The plans to blow up railway bridges, specifically the bridge over the Volkhov River, that were outlined at this meeting. The latter plan was presented by "a British agent," Marchand said. Another agent - a Frenchman - reported that he had already attempted to blow up the bridge near Cherepovetz.

"A glance at the map is sufficient to see that the demolition of this bridge," Marchand wrote, referring to the Volkhov Bridge, "would doom Petrograd to total starvation."

He was appalled by this criminal scheme, and decided he could no longer be party to such plans, that it was his duty **"openly to go over to the other camp to fight against the French government, which had betrayed not only the Russian but also the French people who had not and could not have entrusted it with any such mission."**

The Soviet researcher, N.V. Kuznetsova, working on the archives of Albert Thomas in Paris, came across a whole series of Marchand letters testifying to the gradual awakening of this man who had come to Russia burdened by prejudice. Here is an excerpt from one of his letters to Albert Thomas dated August 16, 1918:

"Today the Bolsheviks demonstrated a burst of unsurpassed energy and vitality so powerful as to have placed them for the first time at the head of the government. Bolshevism is definitely something profoundly Russian, and if it has survived to date, notwithstanding all the difficulties which no other government could have withstood even temporarily, that's because behind it are the popular masses."

Therefore René Marchand arrived at this conclusion:

"Let us not fight against Bolshevism, the Soviets or anything else. Let us not incite the people to hatred, to class struggle against the Bolsheviks....Let us not become involved in a wretched bloody adventure. Let us cease sowing hatred and fanning the flames of civil war. Let us try to bring peace to this country."

His compatriot Jacques Sadoul, member of the French military mission, experienced the same kind of agonizing reappraisal. When he came to know the Russians, when he met Lenin, he came to the same conclusion as Marchand:

"Today Bolshevism is a fact and I affirm that fact. It is a force, and no other force will be able to destroy it."

Sadoul and Marchand were not alone. The legendary witnesses of and participants in the October Revolution, John Reed, Albert Rhys Williams, Louise Bryant and many others have gone down in the history of our revolution. But even such American bourgeois figures as Raymond Robins saw how disastrous was the reliance on foreign intervention and on

White Guard restorers of capitalism, how hopeless the policy of not recognizing and ignoring Soviet government.

"We have no other answer"

Let us return to the starting point of this study. Now that the reader has learned the facts of the terrorist activity against the lawful government of the Soviet republic, he will see that the concept "red terror" appeared exclusively as a reply to the white terror.

That is precisely how the matter was formulated by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee which on September 2, 1918, heard the report of its chairman, Yakov Sverdlov, and issued **"a solemn warning to all lackeys of the Russian and allied bourgeoisie, that all counterrevolutionaries and all their inspirers will be called to account for every attempt on the lives of leaders of the Soviet government and the proponents of the ideas of socialist revolution."**

Simple words, uttered by the Revolution itself, which does not conceal its thoughts and speaks directly and plainly to everyone! V.I. Lenin said in his speech at the Eighth All-Russia Conference of the RCP (B) in December 1919:

"It follows from this that the accusation of terror, insofar as it is justified, should be against the bourgeoisie and not against us. They forced terror upon us. And we shall be the first to take steps to confine it to the lowest possible minimum as soon as we put an end to the chief source of terrorism - the invasion of world imperialism, the war plots and the military pressure of world imperialism on our country."

These were not just words. Already on November 6, 1918, on a motion submitted by the Council of People's Commissars, the 6th All-Russia Extraordinary Congress of Soviets announced an amnesty. A congress resolution called for the release from detention of all persons held by the agencies combating the counterrevolution who, within two weeks of their arrest, had not been charged with direct complicity in the conspiracy against Soviet government.

On January 17, 1920, the death sentence was abolished. "The revolutionary proletariat," a decision signed by Lenin and Dzerzhinsky states, "and the revolutionary government of Soviet Russia are happy to announce that the defeat of the armed forces of the counterrevolution makes it possible for them to lay aside the weapon of terror."

ALEXANDER BRYANSKY, a witness of those years, said in an interview:

"Today it is somehow forgotten that the October Revolution was one of the most bloodless, indeed the most bloodless of revolutions. At the time of the Petrograd events, each one of us who took part in the storming of the Winter Palace knew that

the order was - as few casualties as possible, enemies of the revolution should be arrested, not killed. Even the cadets taken prisoner were released at once. In subsequent months it was impressed upon us that armed action should be taken only where it could not be avoided.

"Of course many of us had difficulty learning these lessons. But here Lenin himself set the example. Time and again it was learned that he demanded the strictest observance of legality in giving effect to punitive measures. Today, reading Lenin's notes to Cheka personnel, now published, we can see that this was indeed the case.

"But Lenin also taught us to be relentless in defence of the revolution. Each one of us fighting under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat always remembers what he said about no revolution being worth anything unless it can defend itself. He said this in his first public speech on October 22, 1918, after his recovery...."

He called for "the most minimal minimum of penalties - but only for those who had realized that attempts by force or slander to fight against Soviet power were senseless and criminal. Otherwise Lenin was far from softhearted. What he said at the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets when speaking of the Cheka is well known:

"Gentlemen, Russian and foreign capitalists! We know that you will never come to love this institution. No wonder! It was able to repulse your intrigues and plots better than anyone else, at a time when you throttled us, invaded us from all sides, when you organized internal plots and committed every possible crime in order to frustrate our peaceful work. Our only response is through an institution aware of the plotters' every move and able to retaliate immediately instead of engaging in persuasion."

Nearly 70 years have passed since those troubled times. The Soviet state withstood all the severe trials it was subjected to. But the unsavoury role played at that time by the ruling circles of Britain, France and the United States and their agents inside the Soviet republic should not be forgotten. In effect, they laid the groundwork for state terrorism that has assumed such wide dimensions in the behaviour of the imperialist powers, especially in their relations with newly independent countries. Terror, murder, bomb outrages and provocations - all this has remained in the arsenal of so-called "Western democracies." The echo of the dastardly shots fired on August 30, 1918, still reverberates over the world.

Compiled by New Times political analyst
LEV BEZYMENSKY with the assistance of
BORIS BALKAREI and **ALEXANDER SAMBUK.**

"That is my freedom..."

ALEXANDER OBUKHOV

What led to the death of Anna Mae Aquash, an associate of Leonard Peltier?

We continue the story of the FBI's battle against the aboriginal population of America.

The killer never attempted to hide the body - why should he? It was most unlikely that anyone could frighten him off out here, dozens of miles from any human habitation, in the prairie at the northeastern edge of the Pine Ridge reservation, South Dakota. He probably relied on the prairie wolves to cover up his tracks, or thought that in spring the frail body would be carried away by flood waters.

It was by sheer chance that on February 24, 1976 a local farmer, Roger Amiotte, noticed the murdered woman's red jacket about fifty yards from a steep roadside bank.

Dr Brown's false conclusion

The appearance on the scene of a large number of limbs of the law after he had reported his find amazed Amiotte. Macabre finds of this sort had long ceased to be sensations. Moreover, the police did not bother to investigate crimes committed by the private police force - the "goon squad" set up by the Tribal Council of Pine Ridge. The bandits' victims were mainly supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM), enemies of the tribal Council, people who dared defend Indian cultural and spiritual values.

That is why Roger Amiotte shook his head in bewilderment when deputy sheriffs, policemen from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and even four FBI agents turned up at the scene of the crime.

Among the last named was special agent David Price. He had played a sinister role in the "Peltier case", fabricating the charge and, by means of promises, threats and blackmail, forcing witnesses to give false evidence against the prominent activist of the American Indian Movement.

The detectives spent no less than two hours examining the corpse and searching the locality. They found nothing "worthy of attention." The body of an "unknown Indian woman" was sent off to Pine Ridge hospital. There Dr Stephen Shanker and nurse Inez Hodges pointed out to the FBI agents that blood was still flowing from



Stereotyped image of the North American Indian reproduced by the National Geographic magazine (U.S.A.). It is a far cry from the reality.

the back of the victim's head. Shanker immediately said that "she hadn't died of natural causes." However, the autopsy was performed by someone else - Dr W. O. Brown, resident pathologist from Scottsbluff, Nebraska. He affirmed that "a small contusion on the head was the only sign of injury." He offered as the official cause of the death of the unknown Indian woman "falling-down drunkenness followed by exposure..." Just another routine reservation episode.

However, for some strange reason, inexplicable in the situation, Dr Brown removed the victim's hands and one of the FBI agents - William Wood - sent them off to Washington to identify the fingerprints. The body lay for several more days in the hospital morgue and then in the local undertaker's parlour; on the 2nd of March, on the simple say-so of the police authorities, the body was buried in the Catholic cemetery without any formal documents.

On March 3 the results of the examination arrived from FBI headquarters. The body was that of 30-year-old Anna Mae Aquash, née Pictou, a prominent public figure and AIM campaigner.

How is it to be explained that the detectives who crowded around the body preferred not to notice the wound on the back of the head or the purplish-red swelling on the temple? How could it happen that not one of them recognized in the murdered woman the "criminal" for

whom a nation-wide search had been declared by the FBI?

As early as November 1975, descriptions and photographs of Anna Mae Aquash had been distributed throughout the country, together with warnings that she was "armed" and "dangerous." How is it possible that David Price failed to identify the body when he had personally repeatedly interrogated Aquash? And why did the police and the FBI bring the body to Pine Ridge unknown to the residents of the reservation and, against all the regulations, did not call in any Indians to identify it? Why couldn't the dead woman's fingerprints have been taken right on the spot, in Pine Ridge - any FBI agent could have done it? And, finally, why, having sent the amputated hands to Washington, did the FBI agents not wait for the results of the examination, but hurriedly hid the body in an unmarked grave?

All these questions were answered by lawyer Kenneth Tilsen: "The FBI wanted the investigation to go cold because they thought it would lead them somewhere that they didn't want to go."

Similar opinions were voiced by everyone who knew Anna Mae and were convinced that the FBI had settled their long-standing account with her.

...Anna Mae Aquash, a person of inquiring mind and bubbling vitality, "dreamed of assembling a whole cultural history of the Indian people." She obtained information concerning the works of ethnographers preserved in libraries all over the continent, collected Indian folklore, fragments of old people's reminiscences, and organized exhibitions of the works of masters of applied arts. She understood how important this was for the rebirth of the Indian national consciousness.

This alone was enough to put her on the black list of the FBI.

Anna Mae was not to be satisfied with scientific research alone; she strove for practical, concrete activity. Towards the close of the 1960s she undertook educational work in the Indian and black communities of Boston. She joined the AIM in 1970 and two years later participated in the famous Indian protest march to Washington - the Trail of Broken Treaties. At that time she became acquainted with Leonard Peltier. Their acquaintanceship grew into a warm friendship during the defence of the Indian village Wounded Knee, occupied

by the movement's activists on February 28, 1973, in order to attract wide-scale public attention to the arbitrary and lawless actions of the authorities.

Life in besieged Wounded Knee, blockaded by paramilitary police units and the FBI, revealed Anna Mae's militant nature. The police and the FBI agents fired on the village (to deal with the defenders of Wounded Knee, the Pentagon allocated 133 thousand rifle cartridges), cut off electricity and water supply, and did not let any cars delivering food into the village.

Outwardly frail, but incredibly hardy, Anna Mae Aquash dug shelters for the women, old people and children. Cool-headed, resourceful and inventive, she was entrusted with making dangerous night sorties beyond the blockade.

The fight for Pine Ridge

In the spring of 1975 the cutthroats from the Tribal Council of the Pine Ridge reservation unleashed a veritable war against those they objected to: they fired on and burned down huts in which the traditional Indian way of life was upheld. In March alone they killed seven people, among them two small children. Despairing of gaining police protection (many policemen readily participated in the raids of the cutthroats in their free time for a reward the inhabitants of the reservation appealed to the AIM to help them organize civilian self-defence.

The first group of volunteers to come to Pine Ridge and set up a camp in the vicinity of the small village of Oglala was headed by Leonard Peltier. The group included three young Indians, several women (among them Anna Mae Aquash) and teenagers from the ages of eleven to eighteen. It would be naive to suppose that the members of the movement, who were aware of the situation, appeared there unarmed. However, they did not consider their principal aim to be armed rebuff of the cutthroats (although the "derring-do" of the latter had somewhat cooled down after the arrival of the volunteers). The activists of AIM chopped wood for old people, planted an orchard, covered the small village store with a new roof. Leonard Peltier and his close friend Dino Butler, both skilled mechanics, helped the inhabitants in whatever way they could. The women, headed by Anna Mae, cared for the sick and the elderly.

They also declared war against the alcohol and drugs that were destroying the Indians both physically and spiritually. The conditions of existence - it is hard to call it life - that dragged Indians to the path of lethal oblivion were described by

the American writer Peter Matthiessen: "Alcoholism at Pine Ridge, where 70 per cent of the people are unemployed, is approximately five times the national average. The suicide rate among teenagers is twice that among whites of the same age...and the life expectancy among Pine Ridge Indians averages 44 years, or about 30 years less than among white Americans."

Peltier and his friends never tired of explaining to the residents of the reservation the need to fight for the Indians' rights to own the lands, with their immense mineral wealth, that had belonged to them from time immemorial; they restored faith and hope, pride and courage to those wretched people.

The FBI resolved to put an end to this "subversive activity." By the end of May 1975, the number of FBI agents in the vicinity of the reservation increased from 3 to almost 60. In the middle of June another group of agents was called out. One thousand National Guardsmen commenced training on the borders of the reservation. On June 26, 1975, in order to have a pretext for raiding the camp, the FBI people surrounded it and provoked an exchange of fire near Oglala. In this skirmish two FBI agents and one Indian, Joe Stuntz, were killed. The other residents of the village managed miraculously to slip out of the encirclement and get away from their pursuers.

Although Anna Mae was absent from Oglala on the day of the shooting, her fingerprints were found in the camp. The FBI proclaimed a national search for her.

"They are out to kill me...."

Exactly five months later state trooper Ken Griffiths stopped a trailer that looked suspicious to him on the highway near the border between the states of Oregon and Idaho. Two women and a child got out of the trailer, as well as "a large Mexican-looking person." The trooper was slightly confused for a few moments, during which the man managed to get away. Griffiths began to shoot...

Despite being wounded in the shoulder, Peltier did manage to escape. The women - one of them turned out to be Anna Mae Aquash - were arrested. Anna Mae was transferred, under police escort, to Pierre, South Dakota, where after a preliminary hearing, judge Robert Merhige released her from imprisonment, pending trial. It should be pointed out that Anna Mae had previously already been detained several times by FBI agents who interrogated her and attempted to talk her into betrayal. She refused outright. They let her go - evidently in the hope that she would lead

the spies who followed her to Peltier. Anna Mae saw through this intention: she broke off all personal contacts with her friends and managed to hide by wandering from place to place throughout the country. She was seen for the last time in the vicinity of Oglala in December. On that occasion she called up her sister Mary: "They're out to kill me."

There exists officially recorded evidence from witnesses who said that FBI agent David Price, when interrogating Anna Mae Aquash in September 1975, demanded that she name those who had killed his colleagues in Oglala. Finding all his attempts to make an informer of Anna Mae to be in vain, Price "told her that if she wanted to have that attitude...he would see her dead within the year."

The absurdity of Dr Brown's conclusion as to the causes of the death of Anna Mae Aquash was apparent to all who knew her. Anna Mae never so much as touched alcohol or drugs - and this was true of the last day of her life as well (as was confirmed by a laboratory blood test). She knew the reservation as she knew her own hand and could not therefore have lost her way, or, even less so, have voluntarily wandered into a lonely prairie.

Lawyer Bruce Ellison demanded the exhumation of the body and a new autopsy. This was performed by Dr Garry Peterson, resident pathologist at St. Paul Hospital, Minnesota, who was not so closely connected with government offices as Dr Brown. It took Dr Peterson only a matter of seconds to discover and extract a 38-calibre bullet from the dead woman's skull.

Anna Mae Aquash was killed by a bullet fired at point-blank range into the back of her head. Among the Indians very few people hold that the trigger was pulled by David Price himself, but there are no doubts in anybody's mind that he was the one who directed the killer's hand.

The entire community attended the funeral. Anna Mae was buried next to Joe Stuntz, killed by a police bullet on June 26, 1975, when the Indian reservation arose to defend its honour, dignity and future. Here, at the top of a cliff overlooking the Pine Ridge reservation, all those who cherish the memory of Anna Mae and Joe, and of all who fell fighting for the Indian cause, again assembled on June 26, 1981, arriving from all ends of the U.S. A letter from Dino Butler, one of Peltier's associates, was read at this memorial ceremony. It came from behind prison bars, and it said: "I shall never be defeated by our enemy - that is my freedom. That's what Anna Mae taught me."

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Later they became known as the Bagration hills. Heavy fighting raged on the approaches to the fortified positions. Grenadiers from General Mikhail Vorontsov's division stood firm. Napoleon then sent his elite forces into battle to break through the defences. In this battle Pyotr Bagration, one of Russia's finest military commanders and a great

favourite with the soldiers, was mortally wounded. General Alexander Tuchkov was killed. The enemy suffered heavy losses and no longer had the strength to storm the Russian positions at the same rate as before. The heroic defence of the Bagration hills confronted Napoleon's army with the prospect of defeat. As a French officer later described the Battle

of Borodino, he had seen Russian gunners "lying down on their guns and refusing to surrender them without themselves. Losing one hand, a gunner would often wave with the other."

Field marshal Mikhail Kutuzov wrote: "This day will always be remembered for the courage and outstanding heroism of the Russian troops."

From the panorama by Frantz Rubeau.

Mikhail Kutuzov
[part of the monument].

The site of the Russian army headquarters.

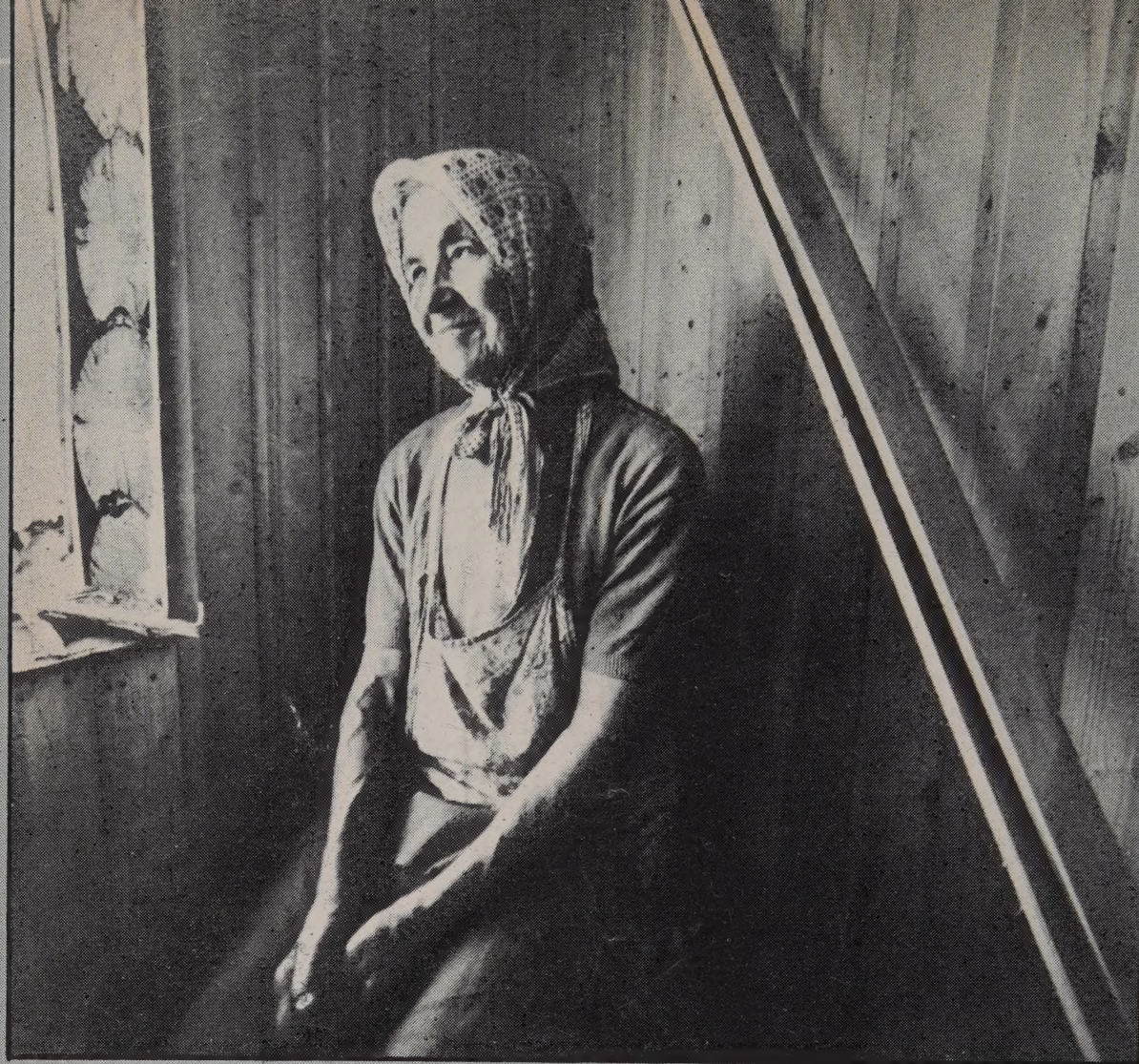
THE BATTLE OF BORODINO



Borodino, the battlefield of Russia's military glory, lies 124 kilometres from Moscow in a hilly place crisscrossed by streams big and small. There, early on the morning of August 26, 1812, Russian soldiers barred the way to Napoleon's advance.

The main forces of Napoleon's army launched their attack on three small fortified hillocks to the southwest of the village of Semyonovskaya.





Aunt Yelena.

First to school.

**Antanas Sutkus
(U.S.S.R)**



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